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Henry Clay

Comprising His Life, Correspondence and Speeches

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Calvin Colton, LL.D.

With an Introduction by

Thomas B. Reed

And a History of Tariff Legislation, 1812–1896

by

William McKinley

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The Works of Henry Clay

Volume Five

Private Correspondence

Part Two

1833—1852

NOTE

As originally printed, the *Private Correspondence* was issued in one thick volume. In this edition it is divided into two volumes, but the paging is continuous.

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CHAPTER IX.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1833, '34, AND '35.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 17, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your two last favors, and should have written to you before and oftener, but that I really have had nothing interesting to communicate. As to politics, we have no past, no future. After forty-four years of existence under the present Constitution, what single principle is fixed? The Bank? No. Internal Improvements? No. The Tariff? No. Who is to interpret the Constitution? We are as much afloat at sea as the day when the Constitution went into operation. There is nothing certain but that the will of Andrew Jackson is to govern; and that will fluctuates with the change of every pen which gives expression to it. As to the Tariff, now pending before the House, whether it will pass or no in that body depends upon his command.

I have been thinking of some settlement of that question, but I have not entirely matured any plan; and if I had, I am not satisfied that it would be expedient to offer it. Any plan that I might offer would be instantly opposed, because I offered it. Sometimes I have thought that, considering how I have been and still am treated by both parties (the Tariff and the Anti-Tariff), I would leave them to fight it out as well as they can. The lingering hopes for my country prevail over these feelings of a just resentment, and my judgment tells me, that disregarding them, I ought to the last to endeavor to do what I can to preserve its institutions and re-establish confidence and concord. I shall act in conformity with this judgment, but I am far from being sanguine that I have the power to effect any thing.

You will have seen the late Message. It is able and elaborate, freer from passion than the proclamation, but not more compatible with the doctrines which prevail at Richmond.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—You mistake very much my feelings in supposing that the doubt which I sometimes entertained of making any effort to rescue the country from its present difficult situation, proceeded from any spirit similar to that which actuated Coriolanus. That doubt sprang from the facts, that there was an organized party ready to denounce any proposition that I would make, because I made it; and that the other party (the Anti-Tariff party) contained many individuals, in whose view the great interests and even the peace of the country, were subordinate to the success of the dominant party to which they belong, and to the success of the designated successor of the present chief magistrate. It is mortifying—inexpressibly disgusting—to find that considerations affecting an election now four years distant, influence the fate of great questions of immediate interest more than all the reasons and arguments which intimately appertain to those questions. If, for example, the Tariff now before the House should be lost, its defeat will be owing to two causes—1st, The apprehension of Mr. Van Buren's friends, that if it passes, Mr. Calhoun will rise again as the successful vindicator of Southern rights; and 2d, Its passage might prevent the President from exercising certain vengeful passions which he wishes to gratify in South Carolina. And if it passes, its passage may be attributed to the desire of those same friends of Mr. Van Buren to secure Southern votes. Whether it will pass or not, and if it does, what will be its fate in the Senate, remains altogether uncertain.

You ask me in your last letter if Tyler is not a nullifier? I understand him to be opposed both to nullification and the proceedings of South Carolina. Will he be re-elected? We feel here some solicitude on that point, being convinced, that under all circumstances, he would be far preferable to any person that could be sent. I hope, if you can say a proper word in his behalf, you will do so.

REVERDY JOHNSON TO MR. CLAY.

BALTIMORE, February 13, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—You will pardon me, I am sure, for trespassing a moment upon your time, in thanking you for the effort you are making to quiet the unhappy and alarming dissentions of the country. Like yourself, decidedly friendly to the protection of domestic industry, I am satisfied, and have been satisfied for some time, that nothing but a liberal spirit of compromise can save the system from almost immediate destruction. The incalculable mischief which, in a mere pecuniary point of view, this will bring upon us, is, of itself, alarming enough, but it is comparatively insignificant, when contrasted with the strong probability, that it may cause a struggle vital to the Union itself. The plan which you have proposed, will, I think, if any plan can accomplish it, save the manufacturers for the time, and in its consequences (gradually brought about) open the eyes of our Southern brethren to the manifold benefits of the system which they have so violently opposed. I can not but believe, that a few years of quiet and sober reflection will satisfy them that their present hostility to the prevailing policy, is the merest creation of prejudice that was ever known, and that their true interests, like that of their Northern countrymen, is in protecting the nation and its industry, against foreign restrictions. God grant that your efforts may prove successful, and that we may again see our country not only, as it is, prosperous in fact, but happy and free in the estimation of every citizen of the Government.

I repeat that I am satisfied you will take this communication in the spirit in which it is sent, and consider me as authorized to suppose that you will receive it in all kindness.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

SENATE CHAMBER, February 14, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had forborne to communicate to you the plan of accommodation which I intended to submit, because, although I had long since settled in my mind the principle of the plan, I had not finally arranged the details. That work was only completed a few days ago. You will see in the papers that I have presented it to the Senate in the shape of a bill. I

was fully aware of all the personal consequences, and personal risks to which I exposed myself; but "what is a public man worth that will not sacrifice himself, if necessary, for the good of his country?" The measure has been well secured. Still every contrivance will be resorted to by the Van Buren men, and by some of the Administration party, to prostrate or defeat the project. That, you know, I anticipated. What will be the final issue of the plan, I can not certainly say. I hope for success. We had a meeting this morning of the Committee—with the constitution of which I am satisfied—and things look as well there as I expected. Webster, and some other of the New England Senators, will oppose the plan.

JOHN M. CLAYTON TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1833.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Prepare yourself fully for the debate to-morrow. We shall hear a labored speech from our opponents.

To-morrow will be the most eventful period of your eventful life. Your friends depend on your efforts, and I as one of them suggest to you this thought—consider whether it be not your best course to declare in your speech on the bill that you are no candidate for the honors of office—that you look only to the imperishable glory of preventing civil war and again uniting your distracted countrymen in the bonds of fraternal affection, while at the same time you insure the continuation, the perpetuity of that great system with which your fame is identified. I advise this course at present. We have a yawning gulf in our Rome, and it will never close till some patriot rides into it. This will stop the cry of coalition, save yourself and your friends from calumny, and your country from ruin.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

SENATE CHAMBER, February 23, 1833.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The compromise of the Tariff proposed by me is likely to be adopted with great eclat. It has passed the House, and will pass the Senate by a large majority. It will be popular everywhere, even in the East. The Eastern vote in

the House has been given against it, rather from policy than from any dislike of the measure. Mr. Webster and I came in conflict, and I have the satisfaction to tell you that he gained nothing. My friends flatter me with my having completely triumphed. There is no permanent breach between us. I think he begins already to repent his course.

As to the publication of my letter, do as you please; but I think it hardly merits it.

I shall go to the North, or directly to the West, immediately after the close of the session. I regret that I can not have the pleasure of seeing you. Make my best respects to Mrs. Brooke.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, February 28, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have a great deal to say, or rather to ask, about the manner in which you have been able to draw out the lightning from all the clouds which were lowering over the country; but I will not trouble you now, and I only hope that you will come up when the session is over, and talk into conviction all the doubters, even my friend Mr. Walsh himself. The fact is, that for forty-eight hours your friends held in their breath with anxiety, till they saw you fairly across the chasm, and are proportionally gratified at seeing you in such a firm and commanding position. Of all this hereafter, when you come to see us. What makes me write now is, that I think you may find an opportunity on Saturday or Sunday of saying a few words which may make a strong and favorable impression upon two large masses of the community whom I wish to see well disposed to you, especially at the present moment. I mean the friends of the Bank and the Western States generally.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 11, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—At the date of your last you could not have received a letter which I had addressed to you at St. Julien. I shall leave here in a day or two, viâ Baltimore, Frederick, and Wheeling, for Kentucky. I have been detained by the Court. I regret that I could not have seen you.

You ask how amity was restored between Mr. Randolph and me? There was no explanation, no intervention. Observing him in the Senate one night, feeble, and looking as if he was not long for this world, and being myself engaged in a work of peace, with corresponding feelings, I shook hands with him. The salutation was cordial on both sides. I afterward left a card at his lodgings, where, I understand, he has been confined by sickness.

I heard to-day that Livingston is to go to France, Barry to Spain, and Stevenson to England; and that M'Lane will be made Secretary of State, Woodbury of the Treasury, Forsythe of the Navy, and Colonel William Wilkins Post-master General. Caring nothing about these arrangements, I vouch for nothing.

You may like to know that there is no breach between Webster and me. We had some friendly passes, and there the matter ended. Since, we have occasionally met on friendly terms. I think (of course I do not know) that if he had to go over again the work of the last few weeks, he would have been for the compromise, which commands the approbation of a great majority.

HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

New Orleans, March 11, 1833.

Dear Father,—This morning I stood my examination in open court before the Judge of the Supreme Court, and I intend immediately to commence the practice. My visit to Mobile and my examination and license there were entirely unnecessary. I was admitted to an examination on the plea of residentship. I am full of hope and energy, and loving the civil law as I do, I indulge a subdued confidence of ultimate success. At all events, I shall continue the trial for two seasons after the present.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL TO MR. CLAY.

Washington, March 13, 1833.

Dear Sir,—My nephew, Marshall Jones, purposes to remove to New Orleans with a view to the practice of the law, and is, I believe, now in that place. The circumstances under which

he left Virginia increase my solicitude for his success. A personal renconter with a young gentleman who had abused him wantonly and grossly, terminated very unfortunately in the death of his adversary. This compelled him to fly from Virginia and from very flattering professional prospects. After visiting Canada and Texas, he has at length, I am told, determined on trying his fortune in New Orleans. I am extremely desirous of promoting his object, but with the exception of Mr. Johnston, am not acquainted with a single individual in that place. May I ask the favor of you to mention him to some of your friends, not as a person known to yourself, but as my friend and relation whom I strongly recommend. I have the most entire confidence in his honor, integrity, and amiable qualities; and shall feel myself greatly obliged by your bestowing on him so much of your countenance as may favor his introduction into society, and his professional exertions. For the rest, he must depend upon himself.

With great respect and esteem I am, dear sir, your obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO J. S. JOHNSTON.

WASHINGTON, March 15, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—You observe that your letter of the 13th found me here. I had, prior to its receipt, sent you a copy of my speech which is to be published by Gales & Seaton in the order of the debates. They have not published one word of the commendation of the bill, which has been put forth by other editors. To preserve an attitude of impartiality they, in effect, make themselves partisans of those who oppose the measure. Do you think it necessary that I should revise the speech which I made on the introduction of the bill? That which was published for me was done without my seeing it.

I am very sorry that Sergeant and Binney disapprove the measure, but I can not help it. I communicated it to them confidentially before I brought it forward, and they opposed no remonstrance. As for Walsh, he has but one god, and Mr. Webster is his prophet.

I hope you sent on my letter to Lawrence which I inclosed to you. That part of the subject ought to be well understood among our friends.

I have been detained here by the most violent cold I ever had; but I hope to be off on Sunday at furthest, for the West. I can not go now to Philadelphia. I gained my cause, Minor against Tillotson.

PELEG SPRAGUE TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, March 19, 1833.

Dear Sir,—It affords me the highest gratification to be able to assure you that public sentiment here has wonderfully changed in favor of your great measure, since its introduction. It is now popular, and becoming more and more so as it becomes better understood, as the real condition of the country and of the views and opinions of the Administration are more known, and as the bill itself and your course previous to its being offered in the Senate are explained. In New York I scarcely found an individual who did not approve it. In Providence and in Boston there is yet some diversity of opinion among the politicians, but so far as I learn none among the actual business men, engaged in manufactures. I have seen several of the principal and most intelligent; they are only apprehensive that it will not be permanent, that it will be again put afloat. They say that they do not think fit to come out publicly in favor of the measure, because it might create uneasiness in the South, and generate a disposition to make further demands, and because it would carry a censure upon their delegation in Congress. I have seen and conversed with many of the principal men, and was at first surprised that there was so much of error and misapprehension in nearly all in relation to the bill. I yesterday spent nearly an hour in conversation upon this subject with the Governor, most of the members of his Council being present, and I also have conversed with the Lieutenant-Governor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, several members of the Senate, and many members of the House, with Crowningshield and Dwight, formerly members of Congress, with both the Everett's, President Quincy, the Lawrences, and many other merchants and manufacturers, whose names are unknown to you; and I can not doubt from their representations that the bill is now considered a good one, and will be extremely popular when fully understood. Indeed I am entirely mistaken if, in six months, it be not considered in New England as the most wise, patriotic,

beneficent and splendid act of legislation that any individual in this country has ever achieved. It ought not to be matter of surprise that some time is required to bring the public here to a correct understanding of the measure, for every member of their delegation, in whom they have justly so much confidence, voted against it, and some, in the early stages, united in a feeling of hostility to it. The debate has not yet been published, which is very unfortunate, and the impressions of the nature of the bill have been received from the objections which are understood to have been made to it in the Senate. I have found the impression almost universal that it relinquished the principle of protection after 1842, and not one have I seen here, as I recollect, who did not think that after that period the duties were to be equal on all articles, except such as the bill itself specified should be free. I have, ever since I arrived in New York, carried the bill in my pocket in order to convince them of this error, which has always been the first and prominent objection, and I have not met with one to whom I have had an opportunity to present the truth, who has not been satisfied, and wondered how they should have been so mistaken. I have made it a business, since my arrival here, to put the matter right, and also to correct another erroneous impression which has been the source of much prejudice from the beginning, and that is that your course was adopted without consultation with your Tariff friends, and operated as a surprise upon them all, and particularly upon Mr. W. I have taken the liberty, every where and upon all occasions, to state the truth upon this point, which I know. I thought myself not only at liberty, but bound, in justice to yourself, to make your course known, and have been delighted to find how relieved and rejoiced your friends here have invariably been to learn the truth. I have not hesitated to state the conferences which were had, formal and informal, the propositions and suggestions which you submitted, and the remarks of Mr. W. and others. Rely upon it the intelligent men here are getting to understand the subject; it requires but a few persons to explain it, and it will be highly satisfactory and almost universally popular. I regret deeply that the debate has not been published, while the public mind is awake and inquisitive in regard to it, especially as all the members from this State were opposed to it in their votes, and of course are stopped from saying much in its favor. I shall remain here several days longer, and shall see a great many more

of their intelligent and leading men, and I have no doubt all will be satisfied except a particular, and I trust very limited class of politicians, who wished to carry matters to extremities with South Carolina, and to see her put down, prostrated by force of arms, and with whom this feeling was paramount to any regard for the Tariff.

Excuse me for writing so much, and so many repetitions, but the subject is one in which every hour's reflection and observation increases my interest, and I have the strongest solicitude that every body should view this splendid and glorious act as I do, and appreciate and do justice to the mover, which I have no doubt they will. Your promised visit here is looked forward to with great eagerness. Your reception will be all that you can wish. You must not disappoint them, nor us in Maine.

N. B. Since the passage of your bill there has been a material rise in the value and market price of almost all manufacturing stocks, and of wool, and woolen goods, which is extending now to cottons, and other articles. An infallible test of the real opinion of the interested.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, March 25, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your last favor from Washington, and did not fail to bear in mind its interesting contents. It confirmed an opinion previously formed, confirmed by subsequent reflection, and since repeatedly declared, that it was of great importance to the country not to permit the difference of sentiment on the Tariff to produce any alienation between those who had hitherto acted in concert on all the other great public measures; and that more especially no estrangement should be allowed to grow up between the two most prominent leaders who were opposed on that question. During the visit of our friend, I was in habits of constant and confidential intercourse with him. In regard to the measure itself, he retains all the opinions which he publicly expressed; but they are, I think, unaccompanied by any thing of an unkind or unfriendly feeling toward yourself, as you will perceive when the speech made on that occasion is published. There was a strong disposition

among many of his friends, to give him a public dinner; but this I discouraged, because I feared that it might oblige him to say more on that subject than it is prudent to express at the present time, and because it would probably furnish an occasion for his less discreet friends to do and to say things excusable at a moment of excitement, but which might afterward be regretted. For such an exhibition, I substituted a large meeting of gentlemen at my own house, where his friends could have the pleasure of seeing him, without imposing upon him the necessity of making any exposition of his views on any subject. I stated to him without reserve, the share which I had taken in preventing a public dinner, and my reasons for it, in the propriety of which he entirely acquiesced. In short, he has left us two days ago, in a frame of mind entirely satisfactory, and your mutual friends seem to understand each other perfectly, that there ought not to be, and that there shall not be, any alienation between you, however you may have differed on one measure of policy. For myself, I entertain for him so sincere an attachment, that I should have been greatly pained at a different result. These good dispositions will, I doubt not, be strengthened during the visit which we meditate, to your country, in the course of the spring, since no one can be insensible to the attractions of personal intercourse with you. Few, I need not add, appreciate that pleasure more highly than yours, with great respect, etc.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, March 26, 1833.

My dear Sir,—I have great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., with your speech upon the Tariff Bill.

Your letter gave me individually, inexpressible pleasure, as it has placed in my power the means of satisfying the minds of many prominent citizens among us, who had supposed the whole scheme was brought forward without the knowledge of your friends. I have given the letter free circulation where it has been required, to remove any prejudices that might have existed, and I have a general response from all, that they are entirely satisfied with the purity of your motives, as well as your enlightened patriotism. The newspaper presses are now silent

here upon the subject, and will remain so. I know the editors well, and have taken some pains to place the whole subject upon true ground. I had, as you know, strong objections to any concessions whatever; yet I am now well satisfied with the course the whole subject took in Congress; so are the people of this State, and of New England. Our interests have been greatly promoted by it, and it is hoped and believed that time will prove to us that it was the dictate of wisdom to have adopted the bill proposed by you, and carried by your influence. I do not think there is the least unkind feeling toward you, in New England, and I do not take, I think, too much upon myself, when I say you were never more popular than at the present moment. I look for a great change in public sentiment upon the American system, before the end of nine years, or even five years. If the system of internal improvements could go on for a few years, with vigor, there is not a doubt upon my mind, that this Union would be bound by ties stronger than all the constitutions that human wisdom could devise. A railroad from New England to Georgia, would do more to harmonize the feelings of the whole country, than any amendments that can be offered or adopted to the Constitution. It is intercourse we want, and what I desire. Your Land bill is a great favorite here, and receives the hearty support of all parties, with the exception of some few office-holders. I wrote you about the 10th inst., at Washington; when you write again, will you tell me whether it was received?

I have only to ask you now when we may expect to welcome you here. I am often asked the question, and should be glad to answer it. Our mutual friend, Mr. Sprague, remained here four days, and made the most of his time in explaining the principles of your bill, and the motives that influenced you in bringing it forward. I have a letter which he sent me from Mr. Senator Johnson, which is read in connection with yours of the 13th.

MR. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

Montpelier, April 2, 1833.

Dear Sir,—Accept my acknowledgments for the copy of your speech on the bill modifying the Tariff. I need not repeat what is said by all on the ability and advantages with which the subject was handled. It has certainly had the effect of an anodyne

on the feverish excitement under which the public mind was laboring; and a relapse may happily not ensue. There is no certainty, however, that a surplus revenue will not revive the difficulty of adjusting an impost to the claims of the manufacturing and the feelings of the agricultural States. The effect of a reduction, including the protected articles, on the manufacturers is manifest; and a discrimination in their favor will, besides the complaint of inequality, exhibit the protective principle, without disguise, to the protestors against its constitutionality. An alleviation of the difficulty may, perhaps, be found in such an apportionment of the tax on the protected articles most consumed in the South, and on the unprotected most consumed in the North, as will equalize the burden between them, and limit the advantage of the latter to the benefits flowing from a location of the manufacturing establishments.

May there not be a more important alleviation in embryo—an assimilation of the employment of labor in the South to its employment in the North? A difference, and even a contrast, in that respect, is at the bottom of the discords which have prevailed, and would so continue, until the manufacturers of the North could, without a bounty, take the place of the foreign in supplying the South; in which event, the source of discord would become a bond of interest, and the difference of pursuits more than equivalent to a similarity. In the mean time, an advance toward the latter must have an alleviating tendency. And does not this advance present itself in the certainty that, unless agriculture can find new markets for its products, or new products for its markets, the rapid increase of slave labor, and the still more rapid increase of its fruits, must divert a large portion of it from the plow and the hoe to the loom and the workshop? When we can no longer convert our flour, tobacco, cotton, and rice, into a supply of our habitual wants from abroad, labor must be withdrawn from those articles, and made to supply them at home.

It is painful to turn from anticipations of this sort to the prospect, opened by the torch of discord, bequeathed by the Convention of South Carolina to its country, by the insidious exhibitions of a permanent incompatibility, and even hostility, of interests between the South and the North, and by the contagious zeal in vindicating and varnishing the doctrines of nullification and secession; the tendency of all of which, whatever be the inten-

tion, is to create a disgust with the Union, and then to open the way out of it. We must oppose to this aspect of things confidence, that, as the gulf is approached, the deluded will recoil from its horrors, and that the deluders, if not themselves sufficiently startled, will be abandoned and overwhelmed by their followers.

As we were disappointed of the expected visit last fall, from yourself and Mrs. Clay, we hope the promise will not be forgotten when the next opportunity occurs. For the present, Mrs. Madison joins in cordial regards and all good wishes to you both.

JOHN SIBLEY TO MR. CLAY.

NATCHITOCHES, May 22, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—Illy fitted as my mind is to write a letter at this time, and painful as the task is, I must in grief tell you that J. S. Johnston, and his son William, were, last Sunday morning, on board the steam-boat Lioness, on their way to make me a visit, when, about thirty-five miles above Alexandria, in Red River, a large quantity of powder in the hold of the boat exploded, and blew the boat to atoms. Fifteen or sixteen passengers were lost; among them our friend Johnston.* William was blown off a distance, much hurt, but not killed; is, I hope, safe with his uncle, a few miles below where the disaster happened. His wife, my poor child, was left in bad health, in Philadelphia. I can now only commend her to a merciful God, and implore your condolence to her. I will write you more particularly when I can.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, May 30, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor. I should have written to you before, but in this remote quarter we have rarely any thing interesting to communicate. Since my return from Washington, I have been principally occupied with the operations of my farm, which have more and more interest for me.

* The Hon. J. S. Johnston, United States Senator, and correspondent of Mr Clay.

There is a great difference, I think, between a farm employed in raising dead produce for market, and one which is applied, as mine is, to the rearing of all kinds of live stock. I have the Maltese ass, the Arabian horse, the merino and Saxe merino sheep, the English Hereford and Durham cattle, the goat, the mule, and the hog. The progress of these animals from their infancy to maturity, presents a constantly-varying subject of interest, and I never go out of my house, without meeting with some of them to engage agreeably my attention. Then, our fine green sward, our natural parks, our beautiful undulating country, every where exhibiting combinations of grass and trees, or luxuriant crops, all conspire to render home delightful. Notwithstanding, I shall leave it early in July, to make a journey which I have long desired to perform. I shall go through Ohio to Lake Erie, thence to Buffalo, Niagara, Montreal, Quebec, Saratoga, and toward September, to Boston, where I have a young son of sixteen. The papers have attributed to me an intention of visiting New England, as if it were the principal object of my excursion. It is the least important one, and I should not go there but for the sake of my son. I intend traveling with as much privacy as practicable, and absolutely to decline every species of public entertainment. I wished to have been accompanied by Mrs. Clay, and my son, and son-in-law, with their respective wives; but neither of the young ladies are in a traveling condition, and my wife hesitates about going without either of them.

You perceive that the journey I have sketched will not admit of my having the pleasure of meeting you at the White Sulphur Springs. I visit no place in the summer with more gratification than that finest of all, our mineral springs; but I have never seen the Falls of Niagara, and unless I avail myself of this summer to go there, I shall probably never have another opportunity.

I have not decided whether I shall return to the Senate or not. If the Land bill had passed, I certainly should not have gone there again; and the condition in which that measure has been left, creates the only doubt which I feel. But have I not done all that was incumbent on me? Twice have I pressed the bill in the Senate, where it has twice passed, and once in the House. I regret most deeply that the South, hitherto, has opposed that measure. They will regret it some

day, if it fails; for the public lands will be lost to the country, without some such measure is adopted. They will be used as an instrument to advance the ambitious views of some Presidential aspirant, by offering motives to the new States to support him. Already they are attempted to be applied to that object; for how otherwise can you account for the opposition of Mr. Van Buren's friends, in New York, to the Land bill, and thus separating themselves from the rest of the North, and evidently arraying themselves against the interest of their own State?

You tell me that Messrs. Leigh, etc., speak of me as a candidate for the next Presidency, and even think of having my name forthwith announced. I am greatly obliged by their favorable opinion; but I really feel no disposition to enter again on an arduous and doubtful struggle for any office. I have seen no evidence of any favorable changes in respect to me, that are of an extent sufficient to justify the opinion, that a result of a new contest would take place different from former experiments. Nothing is so abhorrent to my feelings as to be placed in a position in which I should appear as a teasing suppliant for office. That of President is full of care and vexation. One borne to it by the willing suffrages of a large majority of his countrymen, may get along well enough in it; but if it is to be obtained in a hard contest, by a bare majority, or by a decision of the House of Representatives, between several candidates, no one having a majority, it has no charms, at least none for me. I doubt very much whether any successful opposition can be made against General Jackson's designated successor. The press, patronage, and party, will probably carry him triumphantly through. I have borne the taunts of the Jackson party and principles long enough. The country has not thought proper to sustain my exertions. Distinguished men, who could not possibly have viewed things differently from me, have stood by with a cold indifference, without lending any helping hand. What can one man do alone against a host?

If I am asked what I think of the present state of things, and of the future, upon the supposition of success on the part of the candidate referred to? I answer, Bad enough, bad enough, God knows. But what can I do? Have I heretofore ever ceased to warn the country against it? Worn out and exhausted in the service, why should I continue to sound the alarm, with no prospect of my being more heeded hereafter than heretofore?

I want repose. I have reached a time of life when all men want it. I shall not neglect the duties which belong to one who has aimed to be a good citizen, and a patriot, even in retirement; but the country had better try other sentinels, not more devoted or zealous, but who may be more successful than I have been.

Such, my dear sir, is the true state of my feelings. Your partiality and friendly wishes about me, may not—your unbiased judgment must—approve them.

Mrs. Clay unites with me in warm regards to Mrs. Brooke. For yourself, I need not repeat the assurance of my cordial esteem and friendship.

J. W. P. TO MR. CLAY.

PETERSBURG, May 31, 1833.

RESPECTED SIR,—The last speech which John Randolph, of Roanoke, ever delivered, was at the late Jockey Club dinner of our Newmarket races, to a party of about two hundred gentlemen. *Inter alios*, he alluded to yourself, somewhat thus: "I admire and respect such men (the old Federalists) far more than such Republicans as the Janus-faced editor of 'The Richmond Enquirer,' who has contrived to keep in with every Administration, save the short reign of John Adams the Second, and then he kept an anchor out to windward for Henry Clay, who, by the way, gentlemen, is a much better man than Ritchie. Clay is a brave man—he is a consistent man, which Ritchie is not; an independent man, and an honest man, which Ritchie is not."

These remarks were responded to by the company with rapturous applause, and I now communicate them to you (privately and *incognito*), because I like to impart pleasure to a generous mind, and it must be some gratification to you to hear that these were the last public declarations of one of your most envenomed and distinguished political enemies, and that they were uttered and applauded in a part of our country which has been, hitherto, most decided in its opposition to you.

MR. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, June, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of May 28th was duly received. In it you ask my opinion on the retention of the Land bill by the President.

It is obvious that the Constitution meant to allow the President an adequate time to consider the bills, etc., presented to him, and to make his objections to them; and on the other hand, that Congress should have time to consider and overrule the objections. A disregard, on either side, of what it owes to the other, must be an abuse, for which it would be responsible under the forms of the Constitution. An abuse on the part of the President, with a view sufficiently manifest, in a case of sufficient magnitude to deprive Congress of the opportunity of overruling objections to their bills, might, doubtless, be a ground for impeachment. But nothing short of the signature of the President, or a lapse of ten days without a return of his objections, or an overruling of the objections by two thirds of each House of Congress, can give legal validity to a bill. In order to qualify (in the French sense of the term) the retention of the Land bill by the President, the first inquiry is, Whether a sufficient time was allowed him to decide on its merits? The next, Whether, with a sufficient time to prepare his objections, he unnecessarily put it out of the power of Congress to decide on them? How far an anticipated passage of the bill ought to enter into the sufficiency of the time for Executive deliberations, is another point for consideration. A minor one may be, whether a silent retention, or an assignment to Congress of the reasons for it, be the mode most suitable to such occasions.

I hope, with you, that the compromising Tariff will have a course and effect avoiding a renewal of the contest between the South and the North, and that a lapse of nine or ten years will enable the manufacturers to swim without the bladders which have supported them. Many considerations favor such a prospect. They will be saved, in future, much of the expense in fixtures, which they had to encounter, and, in many instances unnecessarily incurred. They will be continually improving in the management of their business. They will not fail to improve, occasionally, on the machinery abroad. The reduction of duties on imported articles consumed by them will be equiva-

lent to a direct bounty. There will probably be an increasing cheapness of food from the increasing redundancy of agricultural labor. There will, within the experimental period, be an addition of four or five millions to our population, no part, or little, of which will be needed for agricultural labor, and which will, consequently, be an extensive fund of manufacturing recruits. The current experience makes it probable, that not less than fifty or sixty thousand, or more, of emigrants, will annually each the United States, a large portion of whom will have been trained to manufactures, and be ready for that employment.

With respect to Virginia, it is quite probable, from the progress already made in the Western culture of tobacco, and the rapid exhaustion of her virgin soil, in which alone it can be cultivated with a chance of profit, that of the forty or fifty thousand laborers on tobacco the greater part will be released from the employment, and be applicable to that of manufactures. It is well known that the farming system requires much fewer hands than tobacco fields.

It is painful to observe the unceasing efforts to alarm the South by imputations against the North of unconstitutional designs on the subject of the slaves. You are right, I have do doubt, in believing that no such intermeddling disposition exists in the body of our northern brethren. Their good faith is sufficiently guaranteed by the interest they have, as merchants, as ship-owners, and as manufacturers, in preserving a union with the slave-holding States. On the other hand, what madness in the South to look for greater safety in disunion! It would be worse than jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. It would be jumping into the fire from a fear of the frying-pan. The danger from the alarm is, that the pride and resentment excited by them may be an overmatch for the dictates of prudence, and favor the project of a Southern Convention insidiously revived, as promising by its counsels the best securities against grievances of every sort from the North.

The case of the Tariff and Land bills can not fail of an influence on the question of your return to the next session of Congress. They are both closely connected with the public repose.

DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

COLUMBUS, June 10, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have at length reached this point, after having been greatly delayed by the state of the roads, produced by excessive rains. Such are the accounts here of the state of health. in the towns and near the rivers, and to the southward of it, that my future movements, and the extent to which I may prosecute my journey, have become uncertain. The season, too, seems now rapidly advancing into hot weather. I have thought it due to your kindness and proffered hospitality to make this suggestion, lest you should stay at Lexington, in expectation of my being there, after the time when it would be agreeable to you, under existing circumstances, to leave home. I pray you not to stay a day for me, since it is so uncertain whether I shall get to Lexington.

I have heard only to-day the dreadful account about poor Johnston. It is inexpressibly shocking.

DANIEL WEBSTER TO MR. CLAY.

CHILLICOTHE, June 22d, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind letter of the 17th was put into my hands at Cincinnati, on the morning of the 20th, just as I was getting into the carriage on my departure for this place. With whatever reluctance, and it was certainly very great, I found it unavoidable that I should give up the Kentucky portion of my journey; since, even though I felt no fear about personal safety, I should yet find those whom I wished to see either in alarm or in affliction. Now that the scourge has departed, as I hope, from your immediate neighborhood, and although Providence has kindly protected your own roof, yet I can well conceive that you must have lost valued friends, and that so terrible a visitation has left a shock which must continue to be felt for some time.

It is my purpose to proceed immediately to Pittsburg, and thence by the shortest route to New York and New England. I find Mr. Ewing here, as well as General M. Arthur and other friends. He expresses great pleasure at the escape of your family from the calamity. There is no sickness here, though a case of cholera is reported as having occurred at Portsmouth.

I sincerely hope you will not give up your intended visit to the North. All along the country there is a very general expectation of seeing you, and the disappointment will not be small, should you not come.

I beg you to make my best regards to Mrs. Clay, and say to her, that I will venture to give her my word that if she will visit the North, she will find her tour pleasant and agreeable, and her welcome every where hearty.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, August 2, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 20th ultimo, and take great pleasure in transmitting an account of the remedy most successfully applied in the treatment of the cholera in Lexington. I send you herewith a number of the "Western Journal," which contains an article bringing into review almost all that has been written on the subject of the scourge. The description and treatment of the disease by Mr. J. Kennedy (the first work reviewed) resemble most the appearance of it here, and accord best with the most approved practice.

From all that I saw and heard about it here, I have drawn the conclusions:

1. That certain reliance can be placed upon no remedy after the disease has reached the state of collapse and cramps.

2. That, prior to that state, no sure reliance can be placed on any treatment which does not embrace the use of calomel in moderate doses.

3. That if the disease commences, as it generally does, by a complaint in the bowels, calomel in doses of from five to twenty-five grains, taken every hour, or two, until the discharge from the bowels is checked, may be relied upon with a high degree of certainty.

If there be considerable discharge from the bowels, opium, in the proportion of one grain to every two of calomel, or fifteen or twenty grains of laudanum, were advantageously given with calomel.

The use of emetics and bleeding was much controverted. I believe them both good, in certain cases, and they were both

occasionally resorted to with benefit, though I think neither indispensable. In the early stages of the disease only, and when it has not assumed what Mr. Kennedy calls the rapid type, would it be advisable to employ the emetic? Ipecac., salt, and mustard, and warm salt and water, were all used. We had among our slaves a number of cases of violent pain in the abdomen, which we feared might terminate in cholera. In most of them we administered salt and mustard in equal proportions, about a tablespoonful of each forming a dose, which was, however, repeated until vomiting ensued, and, after the operation, twenty grains of calomel, combined with twenty grains of rhubarb. All of them were relieved. The same remedy, with the same success, was employed at Mr. Erwin's, and at a bagging factory in the city.

The attack made upon Mr. Dudley's practice was in consequence of his use of the emetic; and, I think, was unfounded.

Some of our physicians employed enormous doses of calomel, but I believe with no advantage.

I send you a letter I received from Dr. M'Nairy, containing an account of his practice, which, as I understand, was very successful.

Most sincerely do I hope that you may not have occasion for any application whatever to this terrible disease. It still rages with great violence in some parts of our State.

You seem to think that I despond as to our public affairs. If you mean that I have less confidence than I formerly entertained in the virtue and intelligence of the people, and in the stability of our institutions, I regret to be obliged to own it. Are we not governed now, and have we not been for some time past, pretty much by the will of one man? And do not large masses of the people, perhaps a majority, seem disposed to follow him wherever he leads, through all his inconsistencies? He does not, it is true, always govern positively, by enforcing the measures which he prefers; but he prevents those, although adopted by the representatives of the people, to which he is opposed; and although manifestly for their good, they acquiesce in and applaud whatever he does, and take sides with him against the legislative authority. If that single man were an enlightened philosopher, and a true patriot, the popular sanction which is given to all his acts, however inconsistent or extravagant, might find some justification. But when we consider that he is ignorant, passionate, hypocritical, corrupt, and easily swayed by the base men who

surround him, what can we think of the popular approbation which he receives?

One thing only was wanted to complete the public degradation, and that was, that he should name his successor. This he has done, and there is much reason to believe that the people will ratify the nomination. Although that successor may be now, in some places, unpopular, when we reflect that the whole patronage of the Government will be directed for three years to insure his success; and that a system of organization exists, in the largest State of the Union, wielding about one seventh of the whole electoral vote, the probability of his final success must be admitted to be great. To these chances we have to add others. In the South, it is now pretty evident that you are about to re-enact the scenes of 1824, when, under a romantic notion of adhering to your candidate, you threw away your votes upon Mr. Crawford, a paralytic, although it was perfectly notorious that he stood no earthly chance of being elected. Now, under the erroneous idea that other parts of the Union contemplate an attack upon your slave property, and with the purpose of adhering to what are called your principles, Mr. Calhoun, or somebody else, will be brought out, and a great effort will be made to rally the South in his support. The contest will be between him and Mr. Van Buren. The latter, aided by the dominant party in Virginia, may secure that State. But it will so turn out that, whatever votes the Southern candidate may get, will serve Mr. Van Buren almost as effectually as if given directly for himself; because they will be so many abstracted from some other formidable competitor. Thus, by the operation of the instruments now in full employment to secure his election, and by the divisions of those opposed to him, he will obtain the majority, or enter the House of Representatives with a resistless popularity.

His election once secured, the corrupt means of preserving and perpetuating power, now in successful operation at Albany, will be transferred to Washington. And there we shall have a state of things which will prepare the public mind for a dissolution of the Union, to which, unfortunately, there is less aversion now than could be wished by those who love their country.

I hope I may be deceived in these predictions; but I fear that I will not. Believing in them, you can not be surprised that, at the age of fifty-six, and after the struggles which I have made to maintain the public liberty, and to avoid the evils which now

menace us—struggles, I repeat, in which I have been too little sustained—I should think seriously of a final retirement from the theater of public life.

My daughter* was happy to find herself in your friendly recollection, and desires me to assure you of her cordially reciprocating your esteem. She is very happy, possessed of the affections of her husband, residing upon a beautiful place adjoining mine, and enjoying affluence and every blessing.

Mrs. Clay desires to be kindly remembered to Mrs. B. and yourself, and I remain always your sincere friend.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, October 22, 1833.

My dear Sir,—I had long indulged a most gratifying anticipation, that upon any visit you might make to this city, I should be among the foremost to receive you with a cordial welcome, and to promote among my fellow-citizens those public demonstrations of respect, to which your claims, to say the least, are, in my opinion, equal to those of any man in our country. My family also would have been too happy in uniting with me in every effort in our power to contribute toward making the stay of yours among us agreeable and convenient. The chagrin, therefore, which I should feel in a disappointment which forbids the accomplishment of these purposes, would be mortifying and deep, if arising from any human source. But we are under an affliction which comes from above, and precludes all emotions but those of anxiety and sorrow, and dispenses from all duties but those of resignation and obedience. My youngest son, the delight of our eyes and our lives, is suddenly arrested by disease, in the bloom and vigor of youth, and is, as his physicians fear, on his dying bed. This trouble is too serious to be mentioned as a ceremonious apology; but I could not, without a sense of self disparagement, permit you to remain a visitor in my native city, under an impression that any ordinary cause would prevent me from showing you, by all that depends on me, the sense which I think every man who loves his country should enter-

* Mrs. Erwin, the much-loved child, and most worthy of it. We have heard Mr. Clay speak of her, many years after her decease, with the most tender emotion. He delighted to dwell on her character with a sympathizing friend.

tertain of the claims of a patriot, who has always carried his principles in front, and is ignorant of all political disguise, except that which he has seen worn by others, and whose public services have been, and, I trust, yet will be, of inappreciable value to his country. If I can trust myself to behave with decent firmness and composure, for ten minutes, I shall steal them, to take you by the hand. If I do not, accept from a full heart the wish that God Almighty may secure you and yours in his holy keeping.

I pray you not to think of replying to this.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

SENATE CHAMBER, December 11, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have delayed acknowledging the receipt of your favor, in consequence of an uncertainty whether my answer should be addressed you at St. Julien or at Richmond, and I am yet at a loss which direction to give it.

My journey was full of gratification. In spite of my constant protestations that it was undertaken with objects of a private nature exclusively, and my uniformly declining public dinners, the people every where, and at most places, without discrimination of parties, took possession of me, and gave enthusiastic demonstrations of respect, attachment and confidence. In looking back on the scenes through which I passed, they seem to me to have resembled those of enchantment more than of real life.

From indications which have been as yet given, it would seem that the session opens with a majority in the House for the Administration, and a majority in the Senate against it. We passed a pretty strong measure yesterday, resuming the appointment of committees by the Senate itself. On that vote, parties stand twenty-two to eighteen. We hope to reverse the majority in the House, and to strengthen it in the Senate, if we have no desertions.

Are you in habits of intimacy with Floyd? If you are, you may ask him to show you a long letter I have recently addressed to him, in answer to a long letter I had received from him on public affairs.

Mrs. Clay joins me in respects to Mrs. Brooke.

AMBROSE SPENCER TO MR. CLAY.

ALBANY, December 14, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—Knowing that your time is wholly taken up in the arduous duties before you, I have hesitated to divert your attention a moment by any thing I can suggest; but I am not willing that an acquaintance which gave me unspeakable pleasure, should be suffered to fade away. If you have not leisure to answer my letters I assure you that your silence will give me no offense. You can hardly conceive what favorable impressions your short visit among us created. Those who were prepared to love and admire you, were confirmed in all their anticipations, and they admire and love you with the more intensity; and even those who have been in the habit of thinking and speaking unkindly of you, were generally compelled to think better of you. I revert to the few happy hours I spent in your company with renewed delight. You may say this is flattery; but if you understood my character, this is a vice never imputed to me by friend or foe, but enough of this.

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I am aware that it is quite premature to think or speak of the next Presidential candidate, but it seems that, *nolens volens*, the press will talk of it, and consequently the public will think of it. In my opinion the national Republicans ought to keep themselves wholly uncommitted, unless a great change should take place in the public mind, and the prejudices of party be greatly abated, the annunciation of any one of our distinguished friends would have the effect to unite the whole Jackson phalanx on some one of their leaders, and I think Mr. Van Buren would probably be that man. From present appearances the contest on the part of our adversaries will be between Van Buren, Judge M'Lean, and Mr. Cass. I had no opportunity to obtain your opinions of the two latter, but I confess I feel strong repugnance to both of them. The question is not whether they are as unprincipled as Jackson, for I console myself with the belief that we, under no circumstances, can elect a worse, or more incompetent man. If we are driven to a choice between the three, which of them will be the least mischievous? M'Lean's judicial course has been jesuitical and trimming, and it will be a strong objection to him that he enters the arena with the robes of office on. As to Cass, I once thought well of him; but did he not write an

article in the "North American Review" expressly to propitiate the favor of Jackson, chiming in with his crude notions that Georgia had a right to abrogate the laws, etc., of the Cherokees and subject them to their jurisdiction? This was in July, 1830. Did he not write an essay for "The Globe" reviewing Judge Marshall's opinions in the case of the Missourians, to prepare the public mind for the President's refusal to obey and carry into effect the mandate of the court? Is he not the one of the Cabinet who gave an oral opinion against removing the deposits, but saying if they were removed he would stand by the President? If he has done all or any of these things, he is a fit instrument for a tyrant, and I despise him. Can you enlighten me on any of these matters at a leisure moment?

I feel as I did when I saw you, most desponding at the prospect before us, and yet were I called to act, I would, if possible, nerve myself for the contest and fight the battle on the last inch of ground left.

Excuse, I pray you, my want of method. I write on just as I feel. We are all well. Present my respects to Mrs. Clay and say to her, Mrs. Spencer presents her respects and will long remember her with affection.

P. S. Mrs. De Witt Clinton told me she regretted very much you did not call on her. She has not one remaining prejudice against you, and her husband's were conceived in error, and were, I doubt not, produced by misrepresentation.

HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

MAPLEWOOD, December 14, 1833.

MY DEAR FATHER,—I must now write you upon a very painful subject. Anne, Mr. Erwin, and the rest of the family, with the exception of myself, determined, from the great and apparent increase of Theodore's malady, and from the positive risk and danger of his going at large, that he ought to be again placed in the Hospital in this place. The Commissioners have taken him once more under their protection. They applied to me to know if I consented to it. I told them that I should have nothing to do in the matter, but that as one nearly related, but without any authority or desire to act, I had no objection. When

he was placed in the Hospital I was applied to as his brother, the nearest relation present, to advance $50 for his board, and to give my bond for $500. I advanced the money promptly, and have expressed my willingness to give my bond. This is my part in the affair. I am not the mover in the business, nor, I may say, a participant, for Anne selected her course without consulting with me. She placed him where he is. But now let me say, my dear father, without I beseech your having my motives impugned, that Anne has done right. Theodore endangered the lives of all in the house with him. He was worse than he ever had been. But he is now doing better. To look at him was enough to melt the heart. His health wasting away, his face pale and emaciated. The day exhausted in forming suspicions of plots and conspiracies, the night in ceaseless and terrible alarms. Let me say, with a full knowledge of what I owe to you and to my mother, that we should allow the best physicians to operate with this most subtle and distressing disorder. When he was in the Hospital before, his health was reestablished and his mind certainly improved. Let us then curb our feelings and not destroy our brother and our child by mistimed affection. If the malady is a great affliction to us all, and the most awful calamity to which a human being is subject, then let the remedies be applied with proportionate care. Let the wisest men and the most skillful in cures take our patient under their charge. I have every hope, and others entertain hope also that Theodore will be eventually cured, if left in the Hospital. His disorder, from being confined to a few subjects has, I think, become more general, and I hope unsettled. At all events we ought never to resign hope; and the experience of mankind informs us that the living and discipline of a Hospital are the best remedies for the disease. Is the discipline, even when the worst, as painful as the amputation of a limb, and shall we do less to preserve our mind than our body? But you know the truth of what I write and my mother too will adopt it, I hope; for I think if she will reflect upon Theodore's case, she will recognize the exact coincidence with it of what I write. Theodore is now doing well, and I, at least, feel much better satisfied with what is going on for his good than when he was at large, a source of mortification and affliction to you and his friends, and in a progress to the gradual but complete destruction of his mind, his health, and happiness.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I addressed a letter to you at Richmond, but understand that you are at St. Julien, to which I direct this letter.

We were highly gratified to-day in the Senate. We carried the appointment of every chairman of the committees as we wished; and as far as we proceeded, every member of the several committees, with one unimportant exception. There is a fair prospect of our having in the Senate a majority of twenty-six or twenty-seven.

Whether it will be practicable to rescue the Government and public liberty from the impending dangers, which Jacksonism has created, depends, in my opinion, mainly upon the South; and the course of the South will be guided mainly by Virginia. Hence the very great importance of this State taking a patriotic direction. I understand that you are thought of for the Chief Magistrate. I know the sacrifices you must make, if you except that station; but can not you make them? "What is a public man worth who is not ready to sacrifice himself for his country?" Depend upon it, that every thing for which you fought, or which you and I hold valuable, in public concerns, is in imminent hazard. By means of the Veto, the power as exercised of removing from office, the possession of the public treasures, and the public patronage, the living existence of liberty and the Government is, in my judgment, in peril.

I mean myself to open and push a vigorous campaign. It is the campaign of 1777. I want aid—all the aid that can be given. I mean—which will surprise you—to be very prudent, but very resolute. Can you not assist us?

ERASTUS ROOT TO MR. CLAY.

DELHI, January 12, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I have read your speeches on the removal of the Deposits with much pleasure and deep interest. I perceive in them that force of argument and that commanding eloquence which I was wont to witness in former days, in the efforts of Henry Clay, in the cause of liberty and the Constitution.

When, my dear sir, will the mad career of the "military

chieftain" be checked? or is it never to meet with a check? Will a thoughtless multitude, led on or encouraged by knavish politicians, always sing pæans of praise to the usurpations of a despot, if emblazoned with military renown? I fear the splendid and enormous bribe he has seized, and is now distributing, will insure the object of his wishes—the succession to his throne.

Under the Constitution, as now understood, is the Secretary of the Treasury an officer impeachable for high crimes and misdemeanors? Can the instrument be convicted of the crime it has perpetrated? He might be forfeited as a deodand.

In your speeches on this occasion, I discover the same ardent patriotism, the same devotion to public and personal liberty which I so much admired when associated with you in the House of Representatives; but from what you hinted to me last winter, I have some reason to fear that when the repeal of the Force bill shall come under consideration, in your House, you will cause me to regret a blot in your bright escutcheon. You were not present on the final passage of that odious bill, but I got the idea (I hope an erroneous one) that had you been present, you might have voted for it. With the sword and the purse and that bill at his command, an American Cæsar might sink into comparative insignificance that puny whipster of a Cæsar whom you so eloquently described as swaying the final destinies of Rome. A part, and the most odious part, of the Force bill, I believe, will expire with the present session, but the Statute Book ought to be purged of that foul stain.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 12th. That written by you early in December never came to hand, and I regret it. As to the repeal of the Force bill, there are parts of it which are permanent, and which, in my judgment, ought to remain, independent of and distinct from any excitement in South Carolina. The two sections (the first and fifth) contain some provisions, to which I objected on their passage. If the repeal of them were asked, not on the ground of the truth of the principles of nullification, but as expedient, since the neces-

sity for them has passed by, to tranquillize the South, it might not be objectionable, although, even in that view, those parts of the act expiring with the present session, by express limitation, there is no great utility in the repeal. But it is not asked on any other ground than that nullification is right, and to that I can not assent. If I could forget myself and my principles so much as to adopt those of nullification, it would prove my utter ruin as a public man. Nullification is every where in the minority but in South Carolina. In Kentucky, it can not hold up its head. And I think Mr. Calhoun has been unfortunate in stirring this matter, which had better be left to sleep quietly.

What is doing in your Legislature about the deposits? We want all aid here on that subject which can be given us from Richmond. What has been done there has been of immense service to us. Virginia is herself again, and has once more the power to rally around her standard the friends of freedom. But bold, determined conduct on her part is necessary; and particularly on the subject of the public treasury. If she now falters or falls back, it would have been better that she should have never excited any hopes; for then we might have all sunk quietly into the abyss of despotism.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should have written you oftener, but for the best reason in the world, that I had really nothing to write that was interesting.

The debate on the deposits continues. We are gaining both in public opinion and in number in the House of Representatives. We are probably still there in a minority, although the majority is not large, and will melt away if the current of public opinion continues to mix with us.

I transmit you a letter in answer to one I received. I wish you to read and deliver it, unless you think I had better not have it delivered. We are here so accustomed to vetos, that I voluntarily, you see, subject my letter to yours.

Our city is full of distress committees. The more the better.

MR. TAZEWELL TO MR. CLAY.

NORFOLK, February 19, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—An absence from this place for some weeks past has prevented me from receiving your favor of the 1st instant, until a short time since. I now hasten to reply to it, merely to give you some evidence of the consideration with which I regard any communication of yours. The opinion you asked of me upon the abstract question you proposed, even if entitled to more respect than my opinions ought ever to receive from you, can be of but little value now, when all the difficulties we encounter proceed from the practical operation of measures, which, whether they may be traced to usurpation or to the mere abuse of power, reach the same actual results. But as you have asked my opinion, I will give it to you freely.

Many years ago, soon after I became a member of the Senate and before you last entered that body, I was under the necessity of discussing this question at large; and to that end I then examined it very carefully. The result of this examination was the conviction of my own mind, that all the executive power created by the Federal Constitution was confided thereby to the President, to be exercised by him at his discretion, and upon his high responsibility, except in the cases of appointments and of treaties, if indeed the latter may be considered as an executive power under this Constitution. In this opinion the majority of the Senate then concurred.

Under this view of the subject, it seemed to me of little use to inquire, in regard to the power of removal from office, whether this was a substantive power or one merely accessorial to the power of appointment. For, as it was clearly an executive power, if it was a substantive power, it would then be embraced in the general Grant of all executive power, which, by the Constitution, is given to the President; and if it was but an accessorial power, it must follow its principal, and appertain to the same functionary, to whom the principal power of appointment was granted by the Constitution in terms, although in the exercise of the power of appointment, he was required to consult his advisory council, the Senate.

This conclusion seemed to me the more apparent when I adverted to the other powers that are, obviously, merely accessorial to the power of appointment, such as the power of nominating

to office, and of commissioning. No one could suppose that the Senate enjoyed either of these powers, although the Constitution required of the President to obtain their advice and consent, before he could exercise his power of appointment. The only reason for this is, that while the Constitution exacts of the President the duty of consulting the Senate in all cases of appointment, it imposes upon him no such obligation with regard to nominations or commissions. Then, as the exclusive right of the President to these new auxiliary powers must be conceded, I could discover no reason for denying to him the similar right to the other auxiliary power of removal, as to which also the Constitution was equally silent.

The treaty-making power, too, seemed to me to furnish a strong illustration of the correctness of my position. Whether, under the Federal Constitution, this ought to be considered as an executive or legislative power, in either case it must carry with it the accessorial powers of negotiation and ratification. Now although the consent of the Senate was required to give validity to every treaty, yet none could suppose that the advice of this body was requisite to justify the President in commencing a negotiation, or that he was bound to ratify a treaty because the Senate had consented that this might be done.

In the course of this debate, it was said by some Senator, that whatever might be the case elsewhere, under the Federal Constitution, the power of appointment was not an executive power, but belonged to an anomalous class, because it was confided to other depositaries than the executive; that being an anomalous power, all its incidents must partake of this character, and appertain to the same depositaries to whom the principal power was intrusted by the Constitution.

I could not admit the general character of the depositary to be the proper test by which to ascertain the nature of the power confided, especially as all our Constitutions furnished many examples of the grants of power admitted to be purely executive to mere legislative or judicial functionaries. It seemed to me more correct to say that the character of the depositary was changed *quo ad hoc*, than that of the power granted. I denied, therefore, that the power of appointment was an anomalous power, and contended that it was strictly executive. I could not admit either that this power of appointment was confided to the Senate, merely because the President was required to consult

them before he exercised it effectually. As well might it be said, that the veto allowed to the President by the Constitution constituted him a part of the Legislature. In either case, the powers granted were negative, and not positive, and therefore could not be considered as active powers, which all legislative and executive powers must be. The Senate, in the case of appointments, were authorized to give or to withhold their consent when asked by the President; but they had no authority to proffer their advice unasked; nor was the President bound to follow it when properly given, although he could not act without it. Therefore, the power appertained to him and not to them. I could not discern how the character of the power granted, let this be ascertained how it might, could influence in any way the question of incidental authority. The accessory must follow its principal, whatever might be the name or nature of that principal. If they are once separated, and the powers confided to different hands, the accessory changes its character immediately, and becomes a new principal power, the matrix of other incidents. Otherwise, the greatest absurdities, and the most irreconcileable conflicts, would ensue.

But I will not fatigue you with any further repetition of the arguments then urged, except to say that it appeared to me manifestly absurd to regard the President as responsible for the acts of subordinate agents, and yet to deny to him the uncontrolled power of supervising them, and of removing them from office whenever they had lost his confidence.

While announcing these opinions, justice to myself requires of me to add, that in claiming for the President the exclusive right to all the executive power created by the Federal Constitution, I hold him accountable to Congress, to the people, and to the States, for every misuse of the discretionary power so granted to him. Believing that all the powers of all our Governments are derivative and not sovereign, I can not recognize any other than a mere verbal distinction between the abuse and the usurpation of any power. None can have the right to do wrong, although in cases where no tribunal exists to determine what is wrong, the mere possession of power must necessarily be regarded as the sole evidence of the right to use it at will. But in this country, where all political powers are granted, and therefore limited, there always exists a tribunal competent to decide upon the legitimate extent of powers. Here, then, the abuse of power

granted is both in kind and in degree, an equal offense with the usurpation of power not granted, unless we could conceive the impossible case of power granted to be abused.

I have never heard any so wild as to claim for the President any other executive powers than such as are created by the Federal Constitution. Nor have I supposed that any could be so foolish as to regard what is called executive power in England, or in any other country, as the measure and standard of such power here. The absurdity of such a pretension is so monstrous, that I can not consider it as meriting any serious refutation. Once admit it to be true, and the Constitution would become a dead letter. We should then be sent abroad to learn the nature of our own Government, and might soon see the President proroguing, or even dissolving Congress at his pleasure, nay, creating a peerage, declaring war, and concluding treaties without consulting any other department of the Government.

It will always give me pleasure to hear from you. Our principles may not, perhaps, be in exact accordance, nor shall we always agree in the application of those in which we do concur. But we have each seen so much of the world now as not to consider such diversities as either injurious to its interests, or as constituting any proper cause to disturb relations that, with us, have been of long standing.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 6th inst., as I did that about the Compiler, with the subscription money which Mr. R. declined.

I should write you oftener, but that I have really nothing of interest to communicate. Almost daily, too, I express in the Senate what I have to say on public affairs.

The view taken by the writer in "The Whig," as to the effect of either House not concurring in the sufficiency of the reasons of the Secretary of the Treasury, had not escaped me. It would be conclusive, if the act of removing the public deposits was conditional, but it is a perfect and performed act, before the reasons are communicated to Congress. I have always believed that if both houses concurred in pronouncing the

insufficiency of those reasons, it would, without any further o. other legislative action, become the duty of the Secretary to restore them, and I have wished to be able to think that such would be his duty, if either House disagreed with him. But if one House agree, and the other disagree, is not the result a state of neutrality?

We shall look to the issue of your approaching election with very great anxiety.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 17, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—I leave here to-day for the Virginia Springs, on account of Mrs. Clay's health, which continues feeble and precarious. I shall return as soon as I can leave her with propriety. My own situation requires also relaxation. I feel very much prostrated. I hope I shall be able soon to return to my post with re-invigorated health.

We are very thankful for the kind invitation contained in your letter of the 13th, but the condition of Mrs. Clay at present, is such, that she would only be a burden at St. Julien, without being able to enjoy its pleasures. I transmitted to you at Richmond some letters from New York, communicating the issue of the great three days' contest. It is felt by both parties here, as the precursor of the complete overthrow of Jacksonism.

We are still anxious about your elections, but feel confident of their being no variation from the last Legislature, in the aggregate result.

The nullifiers are doing us no good here. You will have seen a badly-reported speech of mine, in answer to Mr. Calhoun.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 23, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor, transmitting a copy of the address of the minority of your Legislature. It did not strike me as possessing much ability, but on some points was very weak and vulnerable. I am not aware that any answer to it from this place will be attempted.

I received also your subsequent favor.

Things remain in *statu quo* here. There is a small, but as yet inflexible majority, sustaining the Executive in the House. If the elections in Virginia and New York, should be adverse to the Administration, that majority probably will be changed, but in an opposite event, it may be increased. Mr. Van Buren yesterday offered to bet me a suit of clothes upon each of the elections in the city of New York and in your State. The Administration party is very confident, and our friends are not without fears as to the issue of matters with you. It is with politics as with the currency. In certain states of both, a slight circumstance produces much effect. We were not prepared here for the unfortunate result in Bouldin district. It depressed our side, and elevated the other, far beyond what such an event would have done at any other time.

What are your real prospects? I should confide much in your judgment. Would you like to take up Van's bet?

I told him yesterday, that if the people entertained the Administration in its late measures, I should begin to fear that our experiment of free Government had failed; that he would probably be elected the successor of Jackson; that he would introduce a system of intrigue and corruption, that would enable him to designate his successor; and that, after a few years of lingering and fretful existence, we should end in dissolution of the Union, or in despotism. He laughed, and remarked that I entertained morbid feelings. I replied, with good nature, that what I had said, I deliberately and sincerely believed.

ALEXANDER COFFIN TO MR. CLAY.

HUDSON, NEW YORK, May 12, 1834.

SIR,—Nearly a century has passed over my head; and, although I have witnessed, with much apprehension for the result, many hazardous scenes which my dear native country has struggled through in that time, not one has excited that trembling sense of alarm which the measures of the present Executive have done. I have remarked, in their whole course, an unbridled lust of power, that attacked the very foundation of our free institutions. And, notwithstanding, a temperament naturally sanguine leads me to contemplate things under a cheering

aspect, when I beheld his bold claims to lawless power sustained by men in whom I had placed trust. I confess a very gloomy prospect of the future presented itself; my spirit sunk within me; and I began "to despair of the Republic." But, thanks be to God, who breathed into a phalanx of good men in the Senate of the United States, a spirit to breast the storm; and has enabled them, as I hope, to rescue the country from the danger that impended over it. Allow me to testify to you, sir, as a distinguished individual in that phalanx, my respect, together with my thanks, for the very important share you bore in that conflict; and also, to tender my most hearty congratulations upon the prospect we now enjoy of seeing the Constitution and laws redeemed from the grasp of usurpation, restored to healthy action.

May I beg you to accept, from a man far advanced in his 94th year, the cane which will be handed you herewith, as a token of his gratitude for your eminent services rendered to our beloved country? It was made from the jawbone of a spermaceti whale, the head from a tooth of the same, by the mate of a ship belonging to one of my grandsons, upon her homeward passage from the Pacific.

JOHN NITCHIE TO MR. CLAY.

American Bible Society, New York,
July 5, 1834.

Sir,—It affords me much pleasure to inclose to you a certificate of your membership for life in this society. The occasion of your being made a Life Member you will find from the extract of the letter of the individual making the needful contribution which is copied on the back of the certificate.

Permit me, respected sir, in the name of the benevolent, but anonymous donor, to ask your acceptancy of this compliment; and also, to assure you, of my earnest desire that you and yours may have an eternal interest in the promises of that blessed Book, which it is the design of this Society to spread abroad among the nations of this fallen world.

Extract of a letter to John Nitchie, General Agent and Assistant Treasurer of the American Bible Society, dated July 3, 1834.

Dear Friend,—I send you the sum of thirty dollars, which I will thank you to present to the managers of the American Bible

Society, to be devoted by them to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures.

In consequence of this contribution, you will please enroll the name of the Honorable Henry Clay, of the United States Senate, among your Life Members.

The above is from a friend, which has arisen from the continued savings of a Missionary, by his laying aside portions of fees and presents at the time they were received; the entire amount of fees received on Sunday and Thursday of every week, also, free-will offerings under peculiar Providences: one tenth of his regular salary, and one tenth of the balance of his receipts during the year over his family expenses.

You will please forward to Mr. Clay, a certificate of his Life Membership; also, beg him to lay aside a portion of his income, and thus constitute in like manner, at least one of his friends, a Life Member of your important society, and in so doing, I would beg him to request that friend thus constituted, to constitute some other individual a Life Member. In this way passing the excitement round from friend to friend, an amount of good will accumulate, which the full glories of the Eternal World alone can unfold.

This is to certify, that Honorable Henry Clay, of the United States Senate, by virtue of a contribution of thirty dollars, made by a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, is a Member for Life of the American Bible Society, New York, July 5th, 1834.

John Cotton Smith, *President.*
J. N. Brigham, *Cor. Secretary.*

Attest—John Nitchie, *General Agent and Assistant Treasurer.*

FRANCIS LIEBER TO MR. CLAY.

Philadelphia, November 8, 1834.

My dear Sir,—I feel convinced that you will not ascribe my delay in answering your favor to any unsubstantial reason; on the contrary, I did not write immediately, because I was desirous of writing to you as definitely as possible. My wish is to see you in Lexington, and to become personally acquainted with the College, etc., as well as to give those, who might desire to

engage me for the College, an opportunity of personal acquaintance. The salary, as you yourself intimate, is not large, and I should not be able to incur the expenses of removing thither, and furnishing there my house again, if I had not some hopes of being able to have some young gentlemen living in my house.

I should ere this have set out for Lexington, had I not actually been engaged in the publication of a work, which made my stay here indispensable.

I send you in the mean time a testimonial, such as you mention. If more are desired, I may send more from here, as Messrs. Joseph Ingersoll, Sergeant, N. Biddle, Richard Peters, or in fact any gentleman of note here or in Boston, might be applied to.

If you should make a trip to Philadelphia, in the course of this winter, I would beg you to send me word that you are in town (in case that you should be here only for a day or two); you would greatly favor me with a personal interview.

Politics seem, this moment, so sickening, that we avoid speaking of them, whenever possible. News, of the very worst kind, are here from New York. We are already in a revolution, as nations so often are long before they know it. "The Globe" plays very cheering preludes with regard to attacks upon the Supreme Court. My letters from Europe are of the worst kind, with reference to the moral influence of our general affairs on those of rational freedom, and the sway of law in that part of the world.

A letter from you, though it consist but in a few lines, is always a great delight to me; and you will much oblige me by informing me whether this letter has not perhaps missed you. Please present my best respects to Mrs. Clay, who, I trust, has continued to improve in health.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, January 4, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been thinking for some days past whether the time had not come when another interposition of yours is not needed to save the country from great trouble. In all this French negotiation, mismanaged as it has been from the beginning, nothing is so inexplicable as the manner in which

the overture of France has been treated, and I have been looking for some movement from you for the production of all that will be told of that communication. You know, I presume, the contents of it—if you have not seen it all; at any rate, you are sufficiently aware of the dates and circumstances, which would enable you to make a distinct call. If I do not mistake, Mr. Pageot communicated it on the 11th of September, a few days before the orders went which will occasion Mr. Barton's return.

On the 2d of December he sent it with a letter to the Department, and although it was sent back, yet his letter might be called for.

It seems to me that this dispatch of the Duke de Broglie ought to have settled the matter in five minutes; and yet the country is to be cursed with a quarrel in which every disadvantage is on our side.

If there is any thing connected with it which you wish to know, I think I can obtain the information; and I forbear to add any thing, because I am under the impression that you are apprised of the whole. Had you been at the head of the Government, and the French ministry had said that they would deem that a happy day, when they would be able to surrender this sum deposited in their hands, you would certainly have thrown no unnecessary obstacle in their way.

CHANCELLOR KENT TO MR. CLAY.

New York, January 9, 1835.

My dear Sir,—Let me remind you to send me, when printed, one of the twenty thousand copies of your Report. I rather guess I shall like it. Like it! why, God bless you, I sympathize with you in all your public feelings and doings since the beginning of the reign of the present dynasty. My prayer is, that length of days may be in your right hand, and in your left hand riches and honor.

ELEUTH COOKE TO MR. CLAY.

Sandusky City, January 22, 1835.

Dear Sir,—I can not withhold from you the heartfelt expression of applause with which the Report of the Committee on

Foreign Relations, in reference to our affairs with France, has been received in this quarter. All see, and most acknowledge, in it the evidence of that enlightened patriotism and consummate statesmanship which have more than once elevated the character of our country, and rescued it from impending dangers. Whatever has been, and whatever may continue to be, the measure of injustice and ingratitude to its author, by that country, now thrice saved by his wisdom, posterity can not fail to assign him ample justice on her brightest page.

Excuse this frankness; you know it is not flattery. I speak from the midst of those who at all times, and through all changes, have been your fixed and steadfast friends, not from a sordid hope of favor, but from an admiration of your exalted talents, your lofty independence, and a love of your principles.

God knows what we are to do to preserve our country. Pressed as you must be with public duties, I dare not ask you (confidentially) what are the prospects?

MR. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

MONTPELIER, January 31, 1835.

DEAR SIR,—Perceiving that I am indebted to you for a copy of your Report on our Relations with France, I beg you to accept this return of my thanks for it. The document is as able in its execution as it is laudable in its object of avoiding war without incurring dishonor.

It must be the wish of all that the issue may correspond with the object. But may not a danger of rupture lurk under the conflicting grounds taken on the two sides? That taken by the Message, and by the Report also, in a softened tone, that the treaty is binding on France, and is in no event to be touched; and the ground taken, or likely to be taken by France, with feelings roused by the peremptory alternative of compliance or self-redress, that the treaty is not binding on her, appealing for the fact to the structure of her Government, which all nations treating with her are presumed and bound to understand.

It may be well for both parties if France should have yielded before the arrival of the Message, or not decided before that of the Report, or, at least, should not be inflexible in rejecting the terms of the treaty. A war between the two nations, which

may cost them many millions, for a stake not exceeding a few, would be an occurrence peculiarly unpropitious to the cause of popular representation in the present crisis of the political world.

War is the more to be avoided, if it can be done without inadmissible sacrifices, as a maritime war, to which the United States should be a party, and Great Britain neutral, has no aspect which is not of an ominous cast. Enforce the belligerent rights of search and seizure against British ships, and it would be a miracle if serious collisions did not ensue. Allow them the rule of "free ships, free goods," and the flag covers the property of France and enables her to employ all her naval resources against us. The tendency of the new rules in favor of the neutral flag is to displace the mercantile marine of nations at war, by neutral substitutes, and to confine the war on water as on land to the regular force; a revolution friendly to humanity as lessening the temptations to war and the severity of its operations, but giving an advantage to the nations which keep up large navies in time of peace over nations dispensing with them, or compelling the latter to follow the burdensome example. France has at present this advantage over us in the extent of public ships now, or that may immediately be brought into service, while the privilege of the neutral flag would deprive us of the cheap and efficient aid of privateers.

I do not relinquish the hope, however, that these views of the subject will be obviated by amicable and honorable adjustment.

Should the course of your movements at any time approach Montpelier, I need not express the pleasure which a call from you would give to Mrs. Madison and myself.

JOHN BROWN TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, April 20, 1835.

Mr. C. J. Ingersol has given me the melancholy intelligence of the death of my dear brother.* You may imagine, but it would be impossible for me to express how deeply, how painfully my feelings have been excited by this event. I understand that Charles Ingersol and my niece are absent on a jour-

* James Brown, brother-in-law of Mr. Clay, and his correspondent for thirty years.

ney for her health, and as I do not know that any person in Philadelphia has authority to take charge of my brother's effects, I have concluded that it was expedient that I should go on to attend to that business. It is certainly important that his papers shall be carefully preserved, and that his private correspondence shall not be exposed. I presume he has left a will, but know not who he has named executors. If you can give me any information on this subject, I pray you to drop me a line by mail, and advise me how to proceed and inform what you would wish to have done. I expect to set out on Wednesday, or Thursday at furthest.

STUDENTS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE TO MR. CLAY.

Washington, Pennsylvania, May 16, 1835.

Sir,—We take great pleasure, as a Committee of the "Clay Institute of Washington College," in communicating your election as an honorary member of our Association.

We offer you this inadequate testimonial of our esteem, not, we hope, from a spirit of man-worship, but from an honest admiration of your virtues as a statesman, a philanthropist, and a man. We do not expect that by it we will confer honor upon you, but rather, as was said in the epitaph of a distinguished poet, "That you will confer honor upon us."

Permit us, sir, to request your acceptance of this humble tribute, and of our warmest wishes for your happiness through life.

HARRIET MARTINEAU TO MR. CLAY.

White Sulphur Springs, June 30.

Dear Mr. Clay,—Your frank, which overtook me at Cincinnati, was highly acceptable on its own account, as well as for the very delightful letters it inclosed from my mother and the Furnesses. My mother is in excellent health and spirits, and Mr. Furness writes me the happy news that his family will be in the neighborhood of Boston, and that he will preach there during the month of August, at least.

We enjoyed our ten days' visit at Cincinnati very much, and found your kind introductions of eminent service. We staid

longer there than we had intended, from finding it impossible to travel at all in the interior of the State. A gentleman escaped out of the mud to his home, at last, after traveling at the rate of one mile an hour—a process which does not suit the taste or convenience of Miss Jeffery or myself. Our voyage and journey hither were quite prosperous, and the only disappointment we have met with is the non-arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Smith. As we see and hear nothing of them, and as the Lorings are obliged to go (by Mr. L.'s physician's advice) to the Hot Springs, where we do not want to go, we have accepted the offer of Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan of Boston, to travel together as far as Harper's Ferry. They have engaged an extra, which will afford us plenty of room, and have stipulated to be eight days on the road, seeing the Natural Bridge and Weir's Cave, by the way. As we are not in need of imbibing sulphur, and this pretty place is soon understood, we have no hesitation in embracing so very advantageous a plan of traveling, though it takes us away to-morrow. The Lorings flew to meet us on our arrival yesterday, and we find quite a throng of friends here from the Atlantic cities, and could make ourselves happy for a month, if we could stay so long. We shall leave our Philadelphia address in the post-office, in case of the arrival of any letters; but we expect no more from you. I almost hope there may be none, we have given you so much trouble already.

Mr. Calwell will be most happy to see you; and in the mean while, all has been done to fulfill your request about making us comfortable. We shall never forget how much we owe to yourself and very many of your friends to render our stay in this country happy. We shall always love Mr. and Mrs. Erwin like near and dear connections of our own. I hope Mrs. Clay and Mrs. Erwin are both better. Pray present our respects and love to all your circle, and believe me, dear sir, ever respectfully and gratefully your friend.

P. S. Mr. Prather has been here a few days, improving hourly in health. He requests me to mention the safe arrival of the party, and that they are anxiously looking for Mr. and Mrs. Smith. I have been introduced to Mr. P. since I wrote the first part of this letter.

I have also been weighed; and find my ponderosity to be one hundred and sixteen pounds;—within two of Mr. Erwin's guess;

and Louisa weighs one hundred and ten. So now you know another important circumstance about us. Poor Mrs. Loring weighs only eighty-five pounds. Mr. L's. eyes are no better. This P. S. is for Mr. Erwin, if you will be kind enough to show it to him.

MR. CLAY TO ———.*

Ashland, July 14, 1835.

Dear Sir,—I received last night your favor of the 8th instant. Having experienced the constancy and fidelity of your friendly attachment to me, and entertaining a high opinion of your discretion and judgment, I shall answer it with all the frankness and freedom with which I would address any friend, on the interesting subject of the next Presidential election.

After the result of the election of 1832, I have felt no desire to have my name again presented as a candidate, unless I was satisfied that it was the wish of a probable majority of the people of the United States. Under the influence of this feeling, far from encouraging any movements in my favor, I have, in several instances, dissuaded them from being made, when I was consulted. I have indeed sometimes thought, since that period, that a state of things might arise which would induce a majority of the people to turn their attention toward me; but it has not occurred. It is possible that if the Whigs had manifested no inclination toward other candidates, and had thought proper to have adhered to me, such a state of things might have arisen. But the solicitude of other gentlemen, perhaps more entitled than I am to be chosen Chief Magistrate, and the discouragement of the use of my name, resulting from the issue of the last contest, have led respectable portions of the Whigs, in different States, to direct their views to other candidates than myself. The truth is that I was strongly disinclined to be presented as a candidate in 1832, fearing the issue which took place, but I was overruled by friends, some of whom have since thought it expedient, in consequence of that very event, that another name should be substituted for mine.

Without meaning to pass my opinion upon the measure adopted by the Whig members of your Legislature, at the last winter session, except in regard to its operation upon the prospects of

* The latter part of this letter, with its address, is lost.

my election, I must say that I think it was highly injurious to those prospects. Ohio had been considered as a State which (Jackson out of the way) would certainly bestow her suffrage on me, if I were a candidate. It was believed, and probably is yet believed, that no candidate would unite so much strength in opposition to Mr. Van Buren as I could. When, therefore, it was seen that Ohio, instead of manifesting a disposition to support me, was disposed, through her Legislature, to bring forward another gentleman, it exhibited a division in our party, and a distrust of the extent of my strength which had an unfavorable effect on my pretensions. There were many too who could not see the policy or propriety of selecting, as a candidate, a gentleman who was an original friend of Jackson, in preference to all who had been uniform in opposition to him. The principle, on which such a selection was founded, looked too much to support expected to be derived from the Jackson ranks, without sufficiently estimating the amount that might be lost in our own from positive aversion, or apathy and indifference.

I have never said that I would not consent, under any circumstances, to be a candidate. I have said that I did not wish to be a candidate, except on the condition before mentioned, that is, that I was desired by a probable majority of the country, or at least that there was strong reason to believe that I should not be again defeated. I could not have declared that my name should not be used, in any contingency, without violating a principle of public duty, which subjects the services of every citizen of the country to the call of the majority. But I have reserved to myself the right of controlling and arresting, as far as I could, any movement which might be attempted in my behalf that was likely to end in defeat.

I must now, in frankness, say that the condition on which I should be willing to be run has not heretofore existed, and does not seem to me now to exist. I have no reason to believe that I should be elected if I were brought forward; none to think that I am the wish of the majority of the people. And it is repugnant to my feelings and sense of propriety to be voluntarily placed in an attitude in which I would seem to be importuning the public for an office which it is not willing to confer. It is possible indeed, as many of my friends think, and so I am inclined to believe from the information I possess, that, if I were the only Whig candidate in opposition to Mr. Van Buren, I would

receive a greater support than any other; but I apprehend it would fall short of securing my election.

I have appropriated too much of this letter to myself, the least important part of yours. But I will now give you my candid views as to the state of the country and the best policy, as it seems to me, for the Whigs to pursue.

I will not take up time in dwelling on the calamity of Mr. Van Buren's election. It is enough for me to express my conviction that it would lead to a system of general corruption, and end in a subversion of the Union.

I feel too with you the absolute necessity to secure his defeat, of union and concert among those who are opposed to him. Can that union and concert be produced on Judge White? I think not, for a reason already stated. He has been throughout a supporter of Jackson's administration, and holds no one principle (except in the matter of patronage) as to public measures in common with the Whigs. Although for other reasons he is to be preferred to Van Buren. I apprehend that it would be impossible, if we were to take him up as our candidate, to infuse among our friends the spirit and zeal necessary to insure success, especially in States where internal improvements and the American system have been popular. The Judge, however, seems to be the favorite of the South and South-west; and, from all the lights which we possess, it is probable that he will obtain their undivided support. At least it is so probable as to make it a justifiable basis of future calculation.

While Mr. Webster has attainments greatly superior to those of any other nominated candidate, it is to be regretted that a general persuasion seems to exist that he stands no chance. I believe that, if he stood a fair chance elsewhere, by great effort, the vote of this State might be given to him. In this opinion, however, I differ from many of my friends.

General Harrison could easier obtain the vote of Kentucky than any other candidate named. Judge McLean has not recently been much spoken of, was never generally popular here, but against Van Buren perhaps he might obtain the vote of Kentucky.

You will say this is not a very favorable account of the prospects of the several candidates opposed to Mr. Van Buren. It is not, and I regret it, but I believe it to be true.

What then is to be done? Nothing toward an union upon

either of them by public assemblies, in my opinion, until after the election in Pennsylvania. Great confidence exists that the Jackson candidate for Governor there will be defeated, and as great that, in that event, the State will not support Mr. Van Buren. Mr. Webster's friends, General Harrison's, and Judge M'Lean's, each persuade themselves that the vote of the State will be given to their favorite. Now, if we can have reasonable assurance that Pennsylvania will support either of them, I should think it would be our true policy to rally upon that one, and employ all our energies to give him as great an amount of support as possible.

There would then be three candidates: Mr. Van Buren, Mr. White, and the Pennsylvania favorite. And if White gets the South and South-west vote, or nearly all of it, and Pennsylvania and the Whig States North of the Potomac, and in the West, including Louisiana, unite on a candidate, he would enter the House with the largest vote, and Van Buren might have the smallest vote of the three.

I agree with you that whoever is returned to the House will be elected. If his plurality is considerable, after the experience which we have had, and upon general principles, it is desirable that he should be chosen.

On a late occasion of a public dinner, given to Governor Poindexter, I avowed publicly my opinion in opposition to Mr. Van Buren. This I should not have done, but for the report that I favored his pretensions in a contest with Judge White, which was industriously circulated. You will see what I said in the public papers. The truth is, that I think the election of either Mr. Van Buren or Judge White would be a great misfortune, although that of the Judge would be the least. I did not express my preference between the other candidates, which it appeared to me improper to do. But I have no hesitation in saying to you that either Mr. Webster, General Harrison, or Judge

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LOUISA CAROLINE JEFFERY TO MR. CLAY.

New York, July 19, 1835.

My dear Sir,—Will you allow "little insignificant me" (to parody Miss Kemble's words) to answer your last kind letter addressed to Miss Martineau? She has received safely the differ-

ent letters and newspapers you kindly forwarded to her, including the parcel transmitted through Sir Charles Vaughan. Since we left the Virginia Springs, we have made a very pleasant journey through the valley to Harper's Ferry, with Mr. and Mrs. William Sullivan of Boston, visiting the Natural Bridge and Weir's Cave by the way, which objects are greatly inferior to the Falls of Niagara and the Mammoth Cave, in interest. We have been spending a few days here, visiting Long and Staten Islands, and on Tuesday morning we go up the North River to West Point, Catskill, and probably to Saratoga; thence to Stockbridge, and after visiting some of the pretty New England villages, we shall go to Boston about the 14th of August.

Miss M. received rather unfavorable accounts of the political state of England from her brother. He appears to think that the Tory influence (used in intimidating and bribing electors) will be too strong for the Whigs; that they will not carry large enough measures to satisfy the people, and there will follow that dangerous state of things, pressure from without; and to what is this Tory reaction to be attributed? To the imbecility of the Whigs, I suppose the Radicals will say. I should rather attribute it to the fears of the timid, arising from the constant complaints of the Radicals since the passage of the Reform Bill, and the confidence these disputes inspired the Tories with, that they might rise through the want of union among their opponents. Did you see that Lord Stanley asserts, on the authority of a friend at Washington (of course Mr. Murray), that Americans are all Conservative? If by Conservative he means Tory, I think he would find himself mistaken, and I can not think Mr. Murray could mean to make such an assertion. You, in the great kindness of your heart, will excuse my want of talent to condense all my matter into one page.

We feel very grateful for Judge Porter's kind regards and remembrances, and though passing through a very excellent channel, they might be still more welcome did they come more direct. When you write to him next, will you just mention that Miss M. and I sent him a joint packet, which we trust he received safely, though it was only directed, Attacapas, La. Give my very kind love to Mrs. Erwin; tell her I trust she will pardon me for my neglect in not writing to her ere this, but she shall certainly have my impressions of Yankee land.

I feel very grateful that my name is joined with my compan-

ion in the recollections of the kind and excellent inhabitants of Woodlands and Ashland. Some of my most pleasing associations are connected with my visit to Lexington. I am fully aware I have no claim on your very valuable time, but if, in the exceeding benevolence of your heart, you put pen to paper and honor me with a few lines, to tell us how our very good friends are and something of their thoughts and feelings, I shall feel more grateful than any lady in whose album you have written, inasmuch as a few words from Mr. Clay's heart are worth pages of his handwriting, though that has its value. I do not give you so difficult a subject to treat on as "the compatibility of the Roman Catholic religion with freedom."

We shall be much pleased to meet Mr. and Mrs. Smith. We are much grieved to hear of Mrs. Clay's continuous indisposition. Remember us most kindly to her, and our best love to the dear inhabitants of Woodlands; and, with our united kind regards and grateful recollections to yourself, believe me yours, etc.

JAMES BARBOUR TO MR. CLAY.

Barboursville, August 2, 1835.

On the subject of politics, since our retrograde movement in April, in this State, I have desponded almost to despair. That our jugglers should succeed in seducing the people into a belief that it was premature to discuss the Presidential election, and that the issue should be Leigh, the bank, instruction, and all that kind of stuff, and the moment they had succeeded, turn right round, claim a Van Buren victory, send delegates to the Rump Convention, and immediately demand of their partisans implicit obedience—and all this juggling to be acted in broad daylight, without producing an immediate and violent reaction, seems to me to render our scheme of self-government highly doubtful. Not having left my house scarcely since, personally I know but little. If there have been any changes in the State, as yet, I fear they are few. The Whigs seem generally to have determined to support White. A small accession from the Jackson ranks might give us the majority in the State, but the leaders of the latter have told their creatures that the Whigs are playing false; they wish to divide the Jacksonians, so as to bring the election into the House (of which they express a holy hor-

ror), with a view to elect Webster, yourself, or some other Whig. It is this which constitutes the most formidable obstacle to our success in this State. The running of three candidates they seize upon in confirmation of their charge, and it is this that alone gives them hopes of success here. For being apart from this weapon, and the endorsement of Jackson, would not obtain five hundred votes in the State. But I am quite satisfied that no candidate can succeed against him here, notwithstanding his unpopularity, unless it be one maintaining the favorite doctrine of the State, especially one who has been opposed, and is now opposed to the Bank. For independent of the long cherished hostility to that institution, since Jackson's hostility has been avowed, and his party acquiring success by their incessant clamor on that head, all those in pursuit of office, whatever may be their real opinions, have joined in the denunciation. Opposition, therefore, to this institution, is now a fixed maxim in the political creed of this State, as much so, as the undivided Godhead with a Mohammedan. White happens in this respect to stand well, and therefore I think is the strongest man that can be presented to Virginia. In addition to this, the slave question begins, as I learn, to excite a strong sensation among some of our people. Locality associates Van with the fanatics of his State, and it is not improbable will have a greater influence in the South, than any other circumstance in the contest. Webster is out of the question here; McLean is not thought of; Harrison, next to White, stands foremost I should conclude. It seems to me, however, on the whole, that we have no prospect of excluding Van, but by the plan you suggest of selecting two candidates that will be strongest in their respective sections. White, I apprehend for the South, Webster, for the East, North, and West, or whomsoever Pennsylvania prefers—for in my view, she holds the election in her hands. By running two popular men, we have the prospect of retaining or acquiring the ascendency in the State Government, an object of great importance, and almost a compensation for the loss of our Presidential candidate. For example, even here, we hope, through White, of regaining our ascendency, where, with an inferior candidate, we should be in a decided minority. Fortunately in Pennsylvania, the division in the Jackson ranks promises success to the Whig candidate for Governor. If he succeed it will be sovereign in the contest for President. This election occurring in Octo-

ber will become a beacon to us in the difficulties with which we are surrounded. With its aid, the ensuing winter, you may decide upon the best course our affairs furnish. Hence, I threw cold water on Pleasant's proposed meeting in this State for this month, and it has been prudently abandoned. Personally dissatisfied with White, I will support him only because he is a lesser evil than Van. I shall wait patiently the development of events, and be prepared to follow any course esteemed best to exclude Van. I read, and was much pleased with your remarks touching this gentleman, made at the Poindexter fête.

MR. CLAY TO JOHN BAILHACHE.

ASHLAND, September 13, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor this evening of the 9th instant, returning $15 collected of me at Cincinnati, for your paper published at Columbus. I own to you that there was something in the time and circumstances under which the demand was made that gave me momentary mortification. I believed then that it was without your instructions or sanction, and your letter confirms my belief. Had the application been made to me at home, and not in the presence of strangers; had it not been made as if I were a person of doubtful integrity, it would not have excited any feeling. Your friendly letter has perfectly relieved me. It has preserved you on the ground of honor and delicacy where I had always been accustomed to regard you. The only regret I now feel is that you did not retain the sum, while you made the explanation. Although your paper was sent to me, as stated by you, and as many others have been forwarded, I ought to pay the subscription, having received the value. And you must allow me to consider myself indebted to you the amount, to be paid at some time when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, which I hope and sincerely desire may be soon.

I shall be glad at all times to hear from you on public affairs, or any other topic. I saw a good deal of General Harrison at Cincinnati. Very little passed between us on the subject of the Presidency. He was very respectful and cordial. He appeared to be in good spirits, and I thought seemed confident. I adhere to the opinion expressed in my former letter, that, if Pennsylva-

nia will give satisfactory demonstrations of an intention to support him, it will be expedient, under all circumstances, to run him as the most available candidate against Mr. Van Buren. The issue of the Rhode Island election following that of Connecticut, proves, I fear, that it is in vain to look even to New England for the support of Mr. Webster.

HENRY CLAY, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

Bordeaux, September 17, 1835.

Dear Father,—I send to-day by the ship Tuskina, the Spanish ass Don Manuel. Mr. Haggerty in New York will have him put upon grass until he can hear from you. I have written to him to draw upon you for the expenses of transportation. The captain carries him for $50, I finding every thing. The captain's bill, and the charges in New York and on the way to Kentucky, will be all that are to be paid. May I beg that you will meet this bill, and that you will write to James Haggerty of New York, whom you know, such directions as will be proper. The ass has been rode and he is as gentle as a dog, so that a small boy might ride him. He is a very fine ass, about thirteen and a half hands and half an inch or one inch high. I am induced to send him because the Tuskina is a large packet and the only fine one in port. I shall go in a few days to the Hautes Pyrenées department where I hope to procure some good Spanish asses. There is a mistake about them in America. The few I have seen are very handsome.

MR. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

Maysville, November 19, 1835.

My dear Wife,—I got to Governor Metcalfe's, last night, in good time, and reached here to-day, at two o'clock. The weather has been very fine, and my ride was a very good one. They tell me that a steamboat will be here this evening, in which, when it arrives, I shall embark. I have directed Aaron to go to Governor Metcalfe's to-morrow night, and the next day home.

I feel very uneasy about our dear daughter, Anne. I sincerely

hope that she may get well, and that all my apprehensions may prove groundless.

I feel too, my dear wife, most sincerely and excessively alive respecting your lonely situation. I regret it extremely, and whatever you may think to the contrary, I should have preferred, greatly, your accompanying me. But I hope and believe that this is the last separation, upon earth, that will take place, for any length of time, between us. And I hope that you will make every effort in your power to be cheerful, contented, and happy.

MR. ERWIN TO MR. CLAY.—DEATH OF MRS. ERWIN.

The Woodlands, December 15, 1835.

My dear Sir,—I feel myself scarcely equal to the task which my duty imposes, that of writing you at this time, and speaking of the late dreadful calamity with which it has pleased God to afflict us—by which, at the same fatal blow, has been taken from you a daughter, unequaled in filial devotion and love, and from me a wife, the most devoted, kind, and virtuous, with which man was ever blessed.

Other friends have, I learn, given you the particulars of this sad event, which will spare me the pain of presenting to you the heart-rending scene which was so unexpectedly produced by the hand of Providence.

My home, lately the happiest, which I have shared for years with a beloved wife, who returned my affection with a devotion almost unknown, who, whether I was worthy or not, honored me with a love and confidence which I would not have exchanged for the whole world beside, that home is now to me insupportable. Every object that presents itself—each tree and flower, once so dear when objects of her care—now serve only to make known to me my loss and my misery. The beloved object who gave life and animation to all, has left me to lament over my wretched fate.

You, my dear sir, I am fully sensible, can and will extend to me more sympathy than any other human being—you who best knew her exalted worth, who have daily witnessed our happiness, not surpassed, I vainly believe, in the annals of wedded life—you who shared our pleasures and our joy, who bestowed upon me the choicest gift of heaven, can feel for me, but who,

I fear, will require for yourself all the sympathy of your friends, and all the philosophy with which you are endowed, to support you under this sad bereavement. Mrs. Clay, although in reality scarcely able to support herself under this severe trial, has suppressed, as far as she was able, her own feelings, intent only in rendering to me and my dear children every kindness which her judgment and affection could suggest. She has abandoned her own home and remained with us, exerting herself to preserve the babe, which has cost us all so dear.

My children, now ten-fold more dear to me than before, afford me much consolation, yet they are the objects of my greatest solicitude; for me to remain here is impossible, and to part from any of them, at this moment, will be equally trying. Mrs. Clay at once kindly proposed taking charge of all of them, and to have Miss Brulard remove to Ashland, for the present, and teach them as before. Miss B. wishes to return South, and the plan now is, to leave the three youngest at Ashland, the babe, with Lotty and a wet nurse, under Mrs. Clay's care, and for the two boys, Henry and James, to accompany me.

I expect to leave for New Orleans two days hence. My boys will be important to me, and I shall take care not to let any feeling prevent their having the best means for their improvement afforded them.

I shall hope to hear from you very soon after I reach New Orleans.

CHAPTER X.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1836, '37, '38, AND 39.

GOVERNOR M'DUFFIE TO MR. CLAY.

ABBEVILLE, C. H., January 27, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am from home, and you must excuse the foolscap on which I write. Perceiving the message relative to the French indemnity referred to your Committee, I am irresistibly compelled to make a suggestion or two. You again have it in your power for the third or fourth time, to save the country from a great calamity. It is perfectly obvious that if the Annual Message of December last had been permitted to reach France before any additional cause of irritation was given by the President, the indemnity would have been promptly paid by the French Executive. The king and the ministry have all along been most anxious to adjust the difficulty and pay the claim. They have had to struggle with a refractory Chamber, who have co-operated with General Jackson's weakness and folly to produce war. Now it seems to me that the course for Congress to pursue, for the interest and true honor of the country, is perfectly plain; and that is, to be as courteous and civil as the President has been rude and insulting. State, what is evidently true, a confidence that there is a desire, on the part of the king and ministry, to adjust the matter without war, and a belief that they will pay the indemnity, when they read the annual Message, and that consequently no preparations for war are necessary. I have not a doubt that such a course would insure a peaceable and prompt adjustment of the existing differences.

If war ensues, Congress must now be responsible. It will proceed from their acts, and not those of the President. Even his last Message would be nothing to France, if Congress would again adopt the course you recommended last year. If it should

fail, there will still be time to prepare during the session for non-intercourse, for I can not believe a war possible. A non-intercourse act on our part would not, I am sure, lead to a declaration of war by France. They could not make it a ground of war.

I beg you, my dear Sir, to excuse this liberty. The magnitude of the interests involved must be my apology. A war with France would be utterly ruinous to the Southern States, and God knows what would be its effect upon public liberty. It would be the most signal example of the folly of nations the world ever witnessed. We go to war for five millions, which is sponged out by the declaration, and with a certainty that we shall lose ten times as much, *and never can compel France to pay one cent.*

MR. CLAY TO LESLIE COMBS.

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1836.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 26th ultimo. My impression is that both the legacy was paid and the land assigned to Morrison Boswell, agreeably to the will of Colonel Morrison; but all the papers of the estate being at home, I can certainly affirm nothing and do nothing until my return.

We learn from Kentucky that Morehead has declined, leaving the field to Clarke. I hope no feelings unfavorable to his success will remain. Mr. C. A. Wickliffe is to be run as Lieutenant Governor with him, as we learn. Any arrangement as to individuals ought to be held subordinate to the great object of the prevalence of principles.

I have hopes, not unmixed with fears, about the Land bill. I do not know why your Pension case moves so slowly, or rather does not move at all, in the House. Crittenden and I spoke the other day of starting it in the Senate; and if it does not mend its pace in the House we may attempt that course.

MISS JEFFERY TO MR. CLAY.

BOSTON, March 10, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,—I sail from New York on the 1st of April, in the packet ship Orpheus. Can I take any parcel or communication for you to your son or to Mrs. Henry Clay? And will

you favor me with a letter of introduction to the latter? as I think she might be pleased to see in a foreign county, a person who had seen and known her own relations; and though I am afraid I can do but very little to increase her pleasure, yet I should wish to show, at least, how very grateful I feel for all the kindness I have received from you and yours, by adding my mite if I can. Will you remember me to Mrs. Clay and assure her of my lively recollections of her kindness. I am afraid there is nothing in the world I can do for you; but should you ever wish for any thing which I can procure in England, I shall be very much pleased to be employed. Remember me to Judge Porter.

GEORGE TUCKER TO MR. CLAY.

University of Virginia, June 30, 1836.

My dear Sir,—Before you receive this you will have learned the death of our venerated friend, James Madison. I take the liberty of asking you to have the inclosed resolutions published in "The Intelligencer," and I can not lose this opportunity of letting you know, or rather of giving you a further proof of the high place you held in his estimation. When I was last with him, a few days after the short interview I had with you in Washington, we were conversing on the affairs of the nation—and especially on the then agitating question of the efforts of the Abolitionists—when, with that absence of his habitual reserve on political topics, of which he had of late afforded me many flattering proofs, he said, "Clay has been so successful in his compromising other disputes, I wish he could fall upon some plan of compromising this, and then all parties (or enough of all parties, I forget which) might unite and make him President." Knowing his desire to be at peace with all, and to escape the coarse and reckless vituperation of the newspapers, I never ventured to mention this except to one or two discreet friends, nor would I now do it to any one who would make it public, as in the virulence of party feeling, it would operate with many prejudiced minds to abate the respect that the nation will be disposed to show to his memory, and by thus detracting somewhat from the weight and influence of his good opinion, deprive you of your just rights. I never, however, intended that such a remark should be buried, as that would have been a still greater

injustice to you, and meant, and still mean in good time to make it known. You see I write frankly, but I trust not at the expense of delicacy

Would it be practicable, and if practicable, would it be safe and prudent to extend the franking privilege to Mrs. Madison? You can appreciate the real objections, if there be any, without being deterred from your views of right, by chimerical apprehensions. I pray you then to consider of it, if not too late, and act accordingly.

I forwarded to you last year two copies of my discourse before our Philosophical Society—one for yourself and the other for Miss Martineau. Did they reach you in time before she left you?

You must have a mixed feeling of triumph, contempt, and amusement, that the majority have been obliged, virtually, to pass your Land bill, under another form.

HARRIET MARTINEAU TO MR. CLAY.

New York, July 26, 1836.

Dear Sir,—I am just about to sail for England, and I do not know where you are, but I can not help writing once more, to assure you of my respectful and affectionate remembrance; and of the earnestness with which I shall always watch for tidings of you and yours. If you should ever chance to visit England, you will give my mother and me the pleasure of seeing you at "17 Pludyer St., Westminster;" and if, in the mean time, I can be of any service to you whatever in furnishing information, or in any other way, pray write to me there; and it will delight me to be of use to you.

Pray remember me most kindly to Mrs. Clay and Mr. Erwin, and believe me ever yours faithfully and affectionately.

MRS. MADISON TO MR. CLAY.

Montpelier, November 8, 1836.

The continued and very severe affection of my eyes, not permitting, but with much difficulty, even the signature of my name, has deferred, dear friend, the acknowledgments due for

your very kind and acceptable letter of August 18th. I should sooner have resorted for this purpose to the pen of an amanuensis, but that the failure of my general health combining equal, and sometimes greater suffering, rendered dictation very painful, and hope still flattered me that I might yet use my own. So much time having elapsed with but little improvement in my situation, I can submit to no longer delay in offering this explanation of my silence, nor omit the expression of my deep sensibility to that pure and true sympathy which I am conscious I receive from such highly valued friends as Mrs. Clay and yourself.

The sources of consolation in my bereavement which you suggest, are those which my heart can most truly appreciate. The reflected rays of his virtues still linger around me, and my mind now dwells with calmer feelings on their mellowed tints. He left me, too, a charge, dear and sacred, and deeply impressed with its value to his fame, and its usefulness to his country. The important trust sustained me under the heavy pressure of recent loss, and formed an oasis to the desert it created in my feelings.

In fulfillment of his wishes I have, therefore, devoted myself to the object of having prepared for the press the productions of his own pen. It will form the surest evidence of his claim to the gratitude of his country and the world. With the aid of my brother, who had prepared copies of the debates in the Revolutionary Congress and in the Convention, under Mr. Madison's eye, triplicates have been completed for publication here and abroad. My son went, in July, as far as New York, and remained there for the purpose of negotiating with the most eminent publishers, and I have had communication with those in other cities, but no offer has been made by any entitled to confidence, which would free me from heavy and inconvenient pecuniary advances and the risk of impositions and eventual loss. Under these circumstances I have been advised by a friend to offer the work to the patronage of Congress, asking their aid so far as to relieve the work from the charges upon it, principally for literary and other benevolent purposes, and, after their use by Congress, to give me the stereotype plates. This would at once allow me to throw them into general circulation on a scale that would remunerate me more in accordance with the expectations entertained by their author, and would also allow the price to be so graduated as to insure their general diffusion.

As this plan was suggested by one favorable to the Adminis-

tration, he advised also that the channel of his friends, as the majority of those who were to decide on the proposition, should be employed in making it, and pledged their support. This work being a record only of what passed preceding the existence of present parties, can not associate the name of Mr. Madison with either, and therefore its introduction and advocacy by the one can be no bar to the favor of the other. On your part, I am sure that, in my yielding to it this direction, you will perceive no deviation from the high respect and friendly regard I entertain toward yourself, but approving an adoption of this course as most conducive to success, you will, with your friends, insure it on the merits of the work alone, uninfluenced by adversary feeling toward the source from whence the measures originated.

It was my intention to have gone to Washington, principally with a view to obtain in personal conference the advice of my best friends, but my protracted ill health, and the approach of an inclement season I fear may prevent the journey.

In addition to three volumes of the Debates (near six hundred pages each) now ready for the press, matter enough for another volume is expected, and nearly four hundred pages copied, of writings and letters on Constitutional subjects, considerable selections have also been made from his early correspondence, which may form a volume on the legislative proceedings of Virginia, and historical letters of the period from 1780 up to the commencement of the new Government. His Congressional and Executive career may furnish two more. His writings already in print, as "Political Observations," a pamphlet in 1795, "Examinations of the British Doctrine," etc., it is thought should be embodied with his other works for more permanent preservation.

It is important that these manuscripts should be prepared and committed to the press as early as they can follow the Debates, and the success of the latter will much facilitate the publication of the former, even if Congress should decline a like patronage to them, a mode which would be much preferred.

The near approach of the time which will call you to your Senatorial duties rendering it uncertain whether this would reach you ere your departure from home, I deem it safest to address it to Washington, whence I hope, on your safe arrival, you will favor me with an acknowledgment of its receipt and any suggestions your friendship may offer.

Accept for Mrs. Clay and yourself my affectionate respects.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 19, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to learn by your favor of 15th inst. that Mrs. Brooke's health is improving, and sincerely hope that it may soon be entirely re-established.

Your objection to an immediate organization of an Opposition, upon the principles stated by me, applies rather to the time of its commencement than the principles themselves. Undoubtedly, such an Opposition should avail itself of the errors of the new Administration; but it seems to me that it would acquire greater force by availing itself also of that fatal error in its origin, which resulted from the President-elect being the designated successor of the present incumbent. If a President may name his successor, and bring the whole machinery of the Government, including its one hundred thousand dependents, into the canvass; and if by such means he achieves a victory, such a fatal precedent as this must be rebuked and reversed, or there is an end of the freedom of election. No one doubts that this has been done. And no reflecting man can doubt that, having been once done, it will be again attempted, and unless corrected by the people, it will become, in time, the established practice of the country. Now, I think that no wisdom or benefit, in the measures of the new Administration, can compensate or atone for this vice in its origin. Still this point may be pressed or not, according to circumstances, in different States. As for Virginia, I am afraid another generation must arise before she regains her former high rank. Henceforward, at least during our lives, I apprehend, she will be only a satelite of New York.

I am obliged greatly to Mr. Pleasants for cherishing his friendly sentiments toward me, and request you to assure him that they are cordially reciprocated. Nothing of interest has occurred here since the burning of the General Post-office. I understand that the opinion is general among the inhabitants of the city that it was not accidental.

SIR WILLIAM CLAY TO MR. CLAY.

FULWELL LODGE, TWICKENHAM, January 12, 1837.

DEAR SIR,—My friend and brother-in-law, Mr. Temple Bowdoin, tells me that he has the honor of your acquaintance, and

that he has mentioned to you my name. I am tempted, in consequence, to take the liberty of sending you a pamphlet I have recently published, which may not be wholly without interest to you, as it relates to a question of great interest, as well in the United States as in England; and as I have endeavored to avail myself of the ample experience which your legislative bodies have had the opportunities to acquire, I trust that, by accepting this trifling work, you will permit me to consider myself not wholly a stranger to one who has conferred such celebrity on the name I bear. It is, indeed, not wholly impossible that I may have some claim to the honor of your acquaintance beyond the mere similarity of name. My lineal ancestor was related to Penn. I am not quite clear that some one of our name did not accompany him; but it is certain that at a somewhat later period (eighty or one hundred years since), a member of our family did settle in America, although his friends never had any record of his subsequent fortunes.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 10, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 8th, as I did the preceding one to which it refers, and which I postponed answering until I had something worth communicating. There is indeed some highly interesting occurrence here almost daily, but the papers generally notice it. You will have seen the letter of the President to the Committee of Investigation. Yesterday, a still more extraordinary one was presented to the Senate by Mr. Calhoun, in which the President, in the harshest and most offensive language animadverts upon a speech made by that Senator in the Senate. The majority was reminded that they alone possessed the power to vindicate the privileges of the Senate against the Executive encroachments. But they all remained mute; not one venturing to offer any motion. Such is the degradation to which Congress is reduced!

You congratulate me on my acceptance of the new appointment recently conferred on me to the Senate. I think you ought to have condoled and sympathized with me, because, by the force of circumstances, I was constrained to remain in a body, in the humiliated condition in which the Senate now is. I shall

escape from it as soon as I decently can, with the same pleasure that one would fly from a charnel-house.

Mr. Webster retires positively, Mr. Ewing is ousted, and Leigh, and Clayton, and Mangum, and Porter, are gone. What good can I do, what mischief avert, by remaining?

I should be delighted to see you, but in the month of March the Cumberland route offers advantages so superior to any other, that I must follow it to Kentucky. Would to God it were for the last time!

Can you not come to Ashland from Lewisburg, when you are attending the Court there? It is an affair of but two or three days, and we should be rejoiced to have you, and Mrs. Brooke, too, if she would accompany you, under our roof.

Do me the favor to make to her assurances of my affectionate regards, and believe me always and cordially your friend.

CHANCELLOR KENT TO MR. CLAY.

New York, February 20, 1837.

My dear Sir,—I hope I shall not be deemed too obtrusive, but I can not refrain from declaring my admiration of the speech delivered by you, in the Senate, in January last, on the expunging resolution, and which is published at large in "The National Intelligencer" of the 16th inst. My sympathies, and judgment, and confidence, and patriotism, and grief, and indignation, are with you in every point, and if I was in Washington, I would go directly up to you, and give your hand the hearty shake of sympathetic feeling. You have vindicated the resolution of 1834 with irresistible force, and damned the other to everlasting fame. If you, and such men as you, who are storming despotic and servile meanness in the Senatorial Hall, have no other recompense, it may possibly give you some consolation to be assured that you are receiving the silent admiration and gratitude of thousands, and by none with more hearty pulsation than by your most respectful and obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 7, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor. This day the ex-President left this city, and the President, for the first time, sent in a batch of nominations. Poinsett for the War Department; Dallas for Russia; Heywood, of North Carolina, for Belgium, etc. The three mentioned were confirmed. Smith, of Alabama, and Catron, of Tennessee, were nominated by Jackson for judges of the Supreme Court, under the new law. And what judges they will make! They are not yet confirmed. Labranche, of Louisiana, was also nominated by Jackson, for Texas, and has been confirmed as Chargé d'Affaires.

You ask if I can communicate any consolation to you for the future, as to public affairs. I lament to say not much. Hopes are entertained, and with some probability, that there will be a majority in the House of Representatives at the next session, against the Administration; and if there were more concert, and a union as to the ultimate object, among the Opposition, there would be better prospects. I think there is a tendency to union among them, but it is not yet produced. Mr. Calhoun, now, as heretofore, stands in the way.

The city has been filled with strangers. The crowd from New York has been as great as it was from Scotland, when James ascended the throne in England.

My warmest regards to Mrs. Brooke. I hope to leave here on Thursday.

MR. FOX TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1837.

DEAR SIR,—I have to draw upon England for some money, by the next packet, of the 16th. If you can make it convenient, consequently, to draw upon me a draft for the $1,180 which I am in your debt, at ten days date from the present, I shall be much obliged to you to allow me to settle it in that way. If agreeable to you, the draft can be sent to me for acceptance, at that date, before your departure; or you can inform me in whose hands you leave it. My servant, the bearer of this, will wait for an answer, or call for one early in the morning, as you may desire.

I wish you a very happy journey, and am extremely glad to find that we are to enjoy the pleasure of your society in Washington during another session of Congress.

HARRIET MARTINEAU TO MR. CLAY.

WESTMINSTER, May 15, 1837.

DEAR MR. CLAY,—It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge, on behalf of many authors, besides myself, your exertions on the copyright business. I thought I was sure, both of what your convictions and your efforts would be; and I rejoice that my confidence has been justified. We are exceedingly pleased with your Report, and have strong hope that our object may be attained next session. The American newspapers seem to show a more and more favorable disposition toward our claim, and some solid proofs have reached the hands of one, at least, of our authors (Professor Lyell), of the feeling which honorable American publishers entertain of the injury we suffer. Several hundreds of copies of Lyell's fifth edition of his Geology, in four volumes, have been ordered from England by booksellers in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and the money, in full, transmitted with the order. A highly creditable proceeding. It was transacted through Professor Silliman.

Have you seen what my New York publishers (who are English) have been doing to obviate mutilation of my book? We fear we must submit to be pirated, but the risk of mutilation is much lessened by the work being divided into parts. The book has been published here only four days. I have had little hope of pleasing any body in either country with my work. I might have done so by merely copying my journal, but I felt the occasion to be too serious a one to be trifled with, and I have, accordingly, risked every thing by making an open avowal of principles which have no chance of being popular. I am very easy now the thing is done. My conscience is discharged, and I really do not care much what becomes of me in name and fortune, while I can not live without freedom of speech. This last can never, now, be taken from me.

Your new President seems to have succeeded in making himself gloriously unpopular at the very outset. I do not believe in his power of retrieving himself. We shall see. I hope you

will never have another President who will venture to declare, on entering upon office, that under no circumstances will he, on a particular point, assent to a constitutional act which may become the will of the nation. Enough of him.

We are in a critical state, and the Tories may, very likely, have another short term of office. The weakness of the sovereign, the incompleteness of the Reform Bill, and the difficulties thereby left in the way of the representation, are too much for the present ministry, even without the House of Lords, which we have *pour comble de maux*. We do not fear breach of the peace, but much political struggle. We shall have your good wishes on the liberal side, though you do find our Tory ministers so very civil to the United States.

I hope you are well, and in some good degree reconciled and content in mind. My mother and I are in the best health and spirits, and talking more, it seems to me, of my beloved American friends than of all other persons in the world.

With my kind respects to Mrs. Clay and Mr. Erwin, I am, dear sir, yours affectionately.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

ASHLAND, May 26, 1837.

MY DEAR JAMES,—Just as I was making preparations for my trip to St. Louis, and had resolved to start in a few days, the proclamation of the President arrived, calling Congress on the first of September. I shall be obliged to leave home, to reach Washington in time, about the middle of August. Consequently I have only two months and a half to attend to my private affairs. If I were to go to St. Louis, and examine my lands in Missouri, as I wished, it would absorb one half of that time, and not leave me enough to attend to necessary matters here. I am compelled, therefore, to abandon my contemplated journey for the present. I assure you, my dear son, that I do it with great regret; for I wanted much to see you, and to see your place and the improvements you have made upon it.

As I can not go to see you, you must come and see me. You will yourself judge of the most convenient time for you to leave home, and come here. By the first of July, I suppose your crop will be laid by, and the season of your Jack will be over; and

if you can not come before then, you will be able to leave home at that time.

I wish you to say to Major Graham, how much I regret not being able to see him at his residence, as I expected and intended. I am sorry for it also on account of his suit, in which I wished to have rendered him any service in my power. But it is probable that, if his suit shall be heard at the time he expected, he may be able to engage the services of Mr. Webster, who left here on yesterday on his way to Louisville, and thence to St. Louis, which place he will reach, I suppose, about the 6th of June. His wife and his daughter accompany him, and when they get there I wish you to call and see them.

We have had a very dry spring, insomuch that I have never seen the grass so low. But two days ago the rain began, and we have had the most copious showers. Should the remainder of the season prove good, we shall be able, I trust, to make good crops.

Henry's two mares from England have arrived, and both had colts, but he had the misfortune to lose one of them. He had also imported six cows; two died on the passage, the other four arrived with four calves. I have given him nine hundred dollars for one of the cows and her calf.

Should you want money to bring you home, you must inform me, or if there be not time to inform me, draw upon me.

The family are all well, and join with me in love to you.

MR. CLAY TO A COMMITTEE OF GENTLEMEN IN NEW YORK.

ASHLAND, August 6, 1837.

GENTLEMEN,—I duly received the letter which you did me the honor to address to me on the 20th ultimo, transmitting a copy of the proceedings adopted at preliminary meetings of a number of my friends in the city of New York, in relation to the next Presidential election.

On the question of the propriety of agitating the public at this time by a discussion of that subject, I entirely concur in the opinion expressed by you, that it would be altogether premature. Six months have not yet elapsed since the termination of the last election, and more than three years and a half remain of the term which was then filled. The country is, moreover, suffer-

ing under a great calamity. Its currency and its business lie prostrate. All minds are absorbed by considerations relative to measures of immediate relief. At such a moment to disturb or distract the public attention, by introducing another exciting but remote topic, seems to me to be unwise. In expressing this sentiment, it is far from my purpose to convey any reproach or censure toward those who have taken a different view of the matter. It is quite likely they have supposed, and may be right in supposing, that the only adequate remedy which can be found for the evils with which the country is now afflicted, will be a change of those rulers by whose agency they have been produced or continued. But the necessity of some earlier relief is so great, and the expediency of bringing to the consideration of it a spirit of moderation, forbearance, and conciliation, is so obvious, that I think we should first direct our exertions exclusively to this single object. We shall soon ascertain how far the Administration will co-operate with the country in the restoration of a sound state of things.

To guard against misconception, I ought to add that too much delay as well as too much precipitation should be alike avoided, in arrangements connected with the next election of a Chief Magistrate of the Union. Precipitation would expose the disinterestedness of our patriotism to unjust animadversion; protracted delay, to the danger of division and defeat.

I also agree with you, gentlemen, entirely in thinking, in regard to a candidate for the Presidency, that some mode should be adopted of collecting the general sense of those who believe it important to the preservation of our liberties involved, the correction of abuses, and a thorough reform in the Executive Administration, that there should be a change in the Chief Magistracy. And none better appears to me to have been suggested than that of a Northern Convention. This will not supersede the previous employment of all proper means to produce union, harmony and concentration. A resort to such means is recommended by their tendency to prevent those unpleasant collisions, in the choice of delegates to the Convention, which might leave, among the friends of the respective candidates, a state of feeling, unfavorable to that hearty co-operation in the final struggle which is so essential to success.

Having said this much upon the general subject, allow me now to add a few words in relation to myself personally. You

are pleased to honor me with your attachment and confidence, to appreciate highly my public services, and to desire to place me in the highest station of the Government. I am profoundly grateful to you, and to all those friends who cherish toward me similar sentiments. I think, however, that the question of the particular individual who should be selected to accomplish those patriotic purposes which we have in view, although not unimportant, is of subordinate consequence. It should not be allowed to become the paramount object, nor to divide more, than is absolutely unavoidable, those who agree in the general principle.

I have not, for several years, looked to the event of my being placed in the chair of Chief Magistrate, as one that was probable. My feelings and intentions have taken a different direction. While I am not insensible to the exalted honor of filling the highest office within the gift of this great people, I have desired retirement from the cares of public life; and although I have not been able fully to gratify this wish, I am in the enjoyment of comparative repose, and looking anxiously forward to more. I should be extremely unwilling, without very strong reasons, to be thrown into the turmoil of a Presidential canvass. Above all, I am most desirous not to seem, as I in truth am not, importunate for any public office whatever. If I were persuaded that a majority of my fellow-citizens desired to place me in their highest executive office, that sense of duty by which I have been ever guided would exact obedience to their will. Candor obliges me, however, to say that I have not seen sufficient evidence that they entertain such a desire.

Entertaining these feelings and sentiments, I think it best for the present to adhere to the passive position which I have prescribed to myself. Should a National Convention of our friends nominate any other person, he shall have my hearty wishes for success and my cordial support. And, before the assembling of such a Convention, if one should be agreed upon, there may be such indications of the public will as will enable us all clearly to trace the line of our duty toward our common country.

Requesting, gentlemen, you and all who attended the meetings, the proceedings of which you have had the goodness to forward to me, to accept my grateful acknowledgments, I am your friend and obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO G. D. PRENTICE.

ASHLAND, August 14, 183⅞.

DEAR SIR,—From numerous communications and circumstances, I think it probable that, whatever may be my own inclination or disposition, I shall be again forced into the Presidential arena. It is right that I should put you in possession of some of the information which has reached me.

In the city of New York, notwithstanding, and subsequent to the movement there for Mr. Webster, my friends spontaneously resolved to organize. From all the Wards a committee of one hundred was formed, subdivided into other Committees of Correspondence, Finance, etc., and they tell me that they have ascertained that a decided majority of the Whigs prefer me in that city. The Committee has addressed me, and I have replied. Perhaps my reply may be published. I take the ground of entire passiveness; that I do not wish my name used, unless there is reason to believe it is wanted by a majority of the country, etc.

I send you inclosed some communications which I have received, which you will be pleased to return by Mr. Erwin; and if you do not wish to retain this letter (as I have kept no copy of it), be pleased to return that also.

I still think of and hope that arrangements may be made to make it your interest to go to Washington.

MR. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, August 27, 1837.

MY DEAR WIFE,—We arrived here yesterday, having parted from Mr. Erwin at Guyandotte, he proceeding up the Ohio river, and we taking the land route by this place. I was concerned to learn from him that James became worse the day on which I left home, and it was necessary to call in a physician. He assured me, however, that although threatened with a severe fever, no danger was apprehended. I sincerely hope that this may prove to be the case, but as I shall feel very uneasy until I hear again from home, I wish he would write me to Washington as soon as you get this letter.

I wrote you from Maysville, and in that letter I mentioned most of the things to which I desired James' attention in my absence. I forgot to mention that I wished the red cow with a

white face (an old Hereford that was put up last winter to be killed) fattened for beef for the family, and any other of the old cows that he may think it well enough to kill. There is a little two year old at Mansfield (I believe she is an estray heifer with a black nose) that might as well be slaughtered for early beef.

We shall leave here on Wednesday morning at furthest for Washington. By that time I hope to recover from the fatigues of the journey. John looks very serious, but has conducted himself very well.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WHEELING, October 19, 1837.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I have reached this place on my return home from Congress, a good deal jaded and not very well. Prior to my departure from Washington, I received your letter communicating the death of poor Russell, which gave me sincere concern. I have been quite uneasy about you, but hope that you have escaped sickness. You ought to be very careful with yourself, for your Missouri fevers are very dangerous.

I am sorry to hear of the great loss you have sustained in sheep; and I am now convinced more than ever that it is unwise for you to keep them, unless you have a number sufficiently large to pay the expense of a shepherd to keep constantly with them. Under these circumstances, I think you had better fatten what remain and sell them for mutton.

I expect to remain at home until late in November, and then proceed again to Washington, although I am very tired of so frequently crossing the mountains. I wish you to write me often and let me know all that concerns you. I send this by the boat that carries me to Maysville.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

ASHLAND, October 24, 1837.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I reached home on the 22d instant, and received your letter of the 17th. I found all well here, but it is said to be very sickly at Louisville and at Frankfort, and we have been uneasy about you. I hope that you will escape being

sick. I wrote you by the journey from Wheeling, and sent my letter by the steamboat. I advised you in that letter to sell your sheep, seeing that they are not safe from the dogs and wolves. Unless you had a number sufficiently large to justify keeping a herdsman, it is useless to keep sheep.

You tell me that land is still rising in Missouri. I wish you could sell, at a fair price, my small tract in Lincoln, and also the Alton tract, if you could get a good price for it. What could you sell your land for? But I suppose that nothing could induce you to sell it and return ro Kentucky. Mr. Smith tells me that Chaumiere, the residence of the late Colonel Meade, is in market at $40 per acre, which is very low as land has sold here. It is very good land, having, I understand, about four hundred acres in the tract. That would not be large enough without the purchase of some addition to it, which probably might be made But if you are contented with your situation and prospects, you had better not think of purchasing it.

We will try and have your cattle, etc., sent to you, as you desire. I am afraid that the river may be too low, although it is now raining. Thomas seems quite happy since his marriage.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

ASHLAND, November 10, 1837.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I was glad to find by your letter of the 29th ultimo, just received, that you were in good health and spirits, and your business prosperous. I started Orphan Boy, your cow, dog, and gun, on the 7th instant, for St. Louis viâ. Louisville and steamboat, under the care of William Nelson White, a young man raised in this county, and recommended to me. He lost two days in the start by accident, as he says, and I sent Aaron to look after him and the cattle. Aaron has returned this evening and reports that he saw the man with the cattle safely across the bridge at Frankfort and going on well. So that I hope no further mishap will occur. I send you a copy of the receipt which Mr. White gave me, from which you will perceive that I advanced him $20, was to pay all expenses of himself and the cattle, and to allow him half a dollar per day as a compensation. The two days that he lost ought to be deducted from his account Although he started with the dog, he could not carry but left him.

I have written to Mr. Wm. Prather to advance the money for his freight, etc. He had charge of another calf which he was to leave between here and Louisville.

I will make arrangements in a few days to advance you the $100 which you desire.

I wrote you, on my way home, and again after my return, and advised the sale of the sheep.

I have been engaged all this week in getting in my corn. My hogs are sufficiently fat to kill when it is cold enough. Yesterday my new overseer, Mr. Florea, came and entered on business to-day.

Your mother had made up her mind to go with me to Washington, but has finally declined it.

We are all well, and she and the children send their love to you. Mr. Erwin has not yet returned.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1837.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I received, to-day, your favor of the 6th instant, but have not received your previous letter, to which you refer, in which you made an offer of the Alton land to Mr. Tegert. I had, however, before I left home, submitted the matter of the sale of that land to you, and I shall be content with whatever you may do, being sure that your intentions will be to do the best for us all.

With respect, too, to your project of having wood cut from it for the supply of the consumption of St. Louis, I leave that affair to your judgment. If it be well attended to, I have no doubt that it may be rendered profitable; but recollect that it will depend altogether upon the degree of attention paid to it. It will have the effect of repressing trespasses upon the land.

I am sorry to hear of the loss of your heifers, but we must expect occasional losses, and increase our diligence to repair them.

Your resolution to study, and to begin with history, is a good one, and I hope you will persevere in it.

Gillie's Greece, with Plutarch's Lives; Gibbon's Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire; Tacitus; Hume, with the continuation; Russell's Modern Europe; Hallams' Middle Ages; Robertson's

Charles V., Indies, etc.; Marshall's Life of Washington; Botta's History of the American Revolution.

These books, and others, may be read with advantage; and you should adopt some systematic course as to time, that is, to read so many hours out of the twenty-four.

Give my respects to Major Graham.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 19, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 17th. Mr. Madison's Journal is not yet ordered to be printed, and, without any such object in the delay, it may lead to the benefit of Mrs. Madison, by allowing the sale and diffusion of the European edition of the work. When printed by Congress, I will recollect your wish to obtain a copy.

Ritchie has discovered a mare's nest in the fact that the Whigs are making arrangements to establish a new paper here. They do not propose to establish it by resorting to the public crib, from which his and other papers are maintained, but by voluntary contributions, raised among an abused and betrayed people. There is no occasion to conceal the object. The Whigs mean to beat the Administration party, and the public press will be one of their instruments. The design is to establish a new paper to espouse and advance the cause generally, without reference, at present, to any particular candidate.

The committee charged with the business have under consideration the selection of suitable editors, etc. I mentioned, several days ago, to one of the committee, Mr. Blackford as one whose qualifications deserved attention. They will be, doubtless, duly weighed; but it will be best not to excite expectations, or to stimulate any direct application from him. I think very highly of his principles, and his ability. I have no doubt, however, that whatever decision may be finally made will be the result of the best intentions.

My best respects to Mrs. Brooke, and my hearty congratulations on your recent acquisition of a daughter.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1838.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter of the 23d ultimo. You complain of not hearing from me. I have written to you several times since I have been here, and would have written oftener, if I had had any thing to communicate. But my correspondence is very oppressive, and I find it impossible to keep up with it. You must not suppose that I feel any want of affection toward you. Far otherwise. You are constantly in my thoughts, and in my hopes. I feel that you must be very lonesome, and regret to hear that you are not happy. You know, my dear son, that I feared you would not be, separated as you are from all who love you, and that I reluctantly consented to your going to Missouri. I hope that you will endeavor to cultivate feelings of contentment, and I shall be most happy, on my return home, if we can make any arrangement by which you can come back to Kentucky, and live in the midst of your friends.

The account you give me of your affairs is encouraging, and the account of you which I receive from others also gives me high satisfaction. What I would especially guard you against, is, every species of dissipation; and I own to you that I have feared your solitary condition might tempt you into it. But I sincerely hope that may not prove to be the case.

I suppose your offer of the Alton land was declined. It is very important to protect it against trespasses, and I trust you will take care of that. In a former letter, I gave my assent to your having wood cut for the St. Louis market.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—The arrear which I am under in our correspondence, has proceeded from my really having nothing of interest to communicate, and I need not tell you that my correspondence and public engagements are so oppressive, that I am constrained to avoid writing whenever I can. Even now I should not address you, but from my apprehension that you would misconstrue my silence.

We have been engaged in the Senate, during the last eight or ten days, in the most unprofitable discussion that ever engrossed the attention of a deliberate body. It was upon five or six as abstract resolutions as a metaphysical mind can well devise. They are at last disposed of. Their professed object is slavery; their real aim to advance the political interest of the mover, and to affect mine. I am greatly deceived if in both respects he has not signally failed. He was caught in his own trap. You will see the series of counter-resolutions which I offered. The two most important, after undergoing some modifications, with my assent, were adopted as substitutes for his. His Texas resolution was laid on the table yesterday, by a vote of thirty-five to nine. I think that when that subject comes up, I will turn the tables upon Mr. Calhoun, as much as I did on the affair of slavery.

There is not, I think, the slightest ground of approaching war with Great Britain, on account of Canada. When the President's Message was received, respecting the capture and destruction of the "Caroline," I thought it due to the occasion to reprehend in the strongest terms, the violation of our jurisdiction. My remarks are correctly published in "The National Intelligencer," and there only. "The Globe" habitually misreports me.

Resolutions have been introduced in the Kentucky Legislature, recommending me as the next President. Although I presumed that something would be done at Frankfort, I anticipated nothing in this form, and I think it displays more zeal than discretion.

MR. CLAY TO EDWARD EVERETT.

ASHLAND, July 22, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your letter of the 12th instant, and feel grateful for the friendly solicitude concerning my health which it evinces. We have indeed had a terrible time of it at Lexington, and in other parts of Kentucky, with the cholera. The accounts which have reached you are probably not much exaggerated. But I have reason to be thankful for the signal exemption from loss with which we have been blessed. In a family of about sixty, white and black, we have had no

death; and the connections, both of Mrs. Clay and myself, have been generally equally fortunate. My daughter, Mrs. Ervin, my nearest neighbor, has escaped the scourge with her entire family. And a letter from my brother, received this day, informs me that in his family, near Frankfort, consisting of about twenty-four, there has not been a single death, nor even a case of premonitory symptoms, while they were dying all around him, as they were near me.

It was after the pestilence had broken out that I received the distressing intelligence of the untimely fate of our friend Johnston. It filled me with grief. Greatly as I felt and deplored the loss of those around me, his struck deeper, and gave me a more incurable wound. The public has reason to regret being deprived of one of the most useful, patriotic, and honorable servants.

The apprehension that the cholera might visit my family in my absence, determined me to abandon my northern journey, from which I had anticipated so much satisfaction. I regret it extremely; but you will readily conceive how painful my situation would have been if, when distant from my residence, I had heard that it was here.

I am greatly obliged by the kind attentions of yourself and other friends to my little son. I am sometimes afraid that he may be spoiled by the civilities which are showered upon him.

I pray you to communicate my respectful compliments to Mrs. Everett.

MR. CLAY TO EDWARD EVERETT.

BOSTON, October 23, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I am greatly obliged by the kind invitation of the citizens of Charlestown to visit them, and by your friendly manner of communicating it.

It will afford me pleasure to visit them on Monday next, and to view with them the spot where one of the most memorable battles for American Liberty was gallantly fought. Be pleased to express to them my respectful acknowledgments, and be yourself assured of the high personal regard and esteem of your faithful and obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

SENATE CHAMBER, March 23, 1838.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your favor of the 1st inst. I have been a little unwell, and have been so much oppressed with business, correspondence, and company, that I have been obliged to engage a young friend to act for me as amanuensis, and he wrote the letter to which you refer upon my dictation.

I return the inclosed certificate with my signature. I am perfectly satisfied with the disposition you have made of your cattle with Mr. Dorrey. I am sorry that the imported cow does not breed, and I must give you another after awhile. We will talk about the house which you wish to build, when I see you. But I still should be happy to have you back in Kentucky, if we can make some arrangement, as I hope we can, to that end. I have not yet procured the patent, but I hope to get it for your land to be issued in the name of Doctor Rogers. I have been looking out for a wife for you, but I suppose you will have to select for yourself.

I hope, my dear son, that you will continue to cultivate a cheerful disposition, and go into society as often as you can.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I should have written you more frequently but that I had nothing material to communicate, of which the papers would not inform you. I must add, too, that my labors, especially that of private correspondence, have greatly increased this session, from obvious causes.

In regard to the Presidential question, every thing is going on as well as my most zealous friends could desire. Public opinion every where, even in Indiana and Ohio, is rapidly concentrating as you could wish. The movement at Harrisburg for a separate nomination of General Harrison, is rebuked and discountenanced.

The Whig members of Congress have had several consultations, as to the time and place of a National Convention. Their inclination, I understand, is to Harrisburg, and to a period be-

tween January and June of the next year. They will probably definitely settle the matter the next week.

When do you return to St. Julien? I am very much jaded and fatigued. and have some thoughts of running somewhere for a few days. Possibly I may go to you, if I can be sure that I should meet only your family.

Present my respects to Mrs. Brooke.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

SENATE CHAMBER, June 5, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am extremely sorry to hear of the loss of your servant. It is a serious misfortune, and not easily repaired, independent of the distress which such an event must necessarily occasion to every feeling heart.

I can not understand from any inquiry which I have made here the exact value of your Military Land Warrant. Mr. Allen, the Senator, from Ohio, thinks it worth seventy-five cents per acre; but recommends an application to William Creighton, Jr. (who is a man of honor and a particular friend of mine), of Chillicothe, who resides in the heart of the county set apart for the army.

If the bill making further appropriations for land scrip, now pending in the House of Representatives should pass, your warrant will be worth much more, perhaps $1 20 cents per acre. Although I can not vote for the bill, I think it very probable it will pass at this or another session, and you would probably do well not to part with it.

I should be most happy to see you here, and why can't you come? A few hours would put you in the Pennsylvania Avenue. If you visit us, come directly to Mrs. Hill's boarding-house, where I stay, and where you can be accommodated. It is nigh Gadsby's.

Every thing has passed off admirably at the Ohio Convention.

GEORGE W. LAFAYETTE TO MR. CLAY.

PARIS, le 6 Août, 1838.

MONSIEUR,—Celui qui au nom des deux Chambres Américaines réunies, fût, il y a treize ans, le brillant interprète des sentimens de la nation, pour l'heureux vétéran auquel elle prodiguoit tant de bontés, recevra j'en suis sur avec satisfaction, et bienveillance,

des mains de la famille du Général Lafayette, la collection de ses manuscrits.

Qu'il me soit donc permis, monsieur, de vous offrir ce souvenir d'un ami qui n'est plus, et de vous prier en même tems, d'agréer l'hommage de ma reconnoissance, pour vos anciennes bontés pour moi. En mémoire du père que j'ai perdu, j'ose en réclamer encore aujourdhui la continuation.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec la plus haute considération, monsieur, votre très-obéissant et dévoué serviteur.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, August 28, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor from the White Sulphur Springs, and was gratified to learn that the President had been so attentive to you. He is always courteous and civil in his manners.

Mr. Rives' determination not to be a candidate for the Senate is wise. Should he adhere to it, some embarrassment will be avoided at your next Legislature.

The elections of Kentucky and Indiana have eventuated successfully to the Whigs, without any diminution of their strength. I believe we have carried the election in Illinois, but it is not yet certainly ascertained. The Locofocos have carried that in Missouri, but by a greatly diminished majority.

I have remained at home since the adjournment of Congress, as quiet as I could be, which is not very quiet, for company is constantly with me. This is a very bustling week in consequence of the session at Lexington of the Board of Directors of the Charleston and Cincinnati Railroad Company. They will get more soft words than hard money in Kentucky.

Mrs. Clay unites with me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Brooke.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, October 9, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 27th ultimo, but I can hardly say that I had very great pleasure from its perusal; for, upon my word, if you will excuse me for saying so, the pa-

per and the writing are so bad that I do not know that I have guessed its contents.

As to the movement in the State of Massachusetts you will have seen that it is alleged to have been without authority, and is retracted. If we succeed in the elections of Pennsylvania and New York, I attach no importance to that, or any similar movement, whether with or without authority. My impression is that the editor of "The Atlas" expressed sentiments which he supposed would be acceptable to Mr. Webster.

Your suggestion as to a Bank of the United States would do well, if it would conciliate support from those who are opposed to such an institution; but my impression is that it is to the thing, in any form, more than to a particular modification, that opposition exists. At present, however, it is useless to try to establish any Bank of the United States with any modification whatever. It should not be attempted until the people clearly call for it. This I think they will do; but if they do not, if they are opposed to it, I, for one, cheerfully acquiesce in the decision.

We have been, and yet are, terribly afflicted with drought. It has injuriously affected our crops, but I presume not as much as yours have been.

Mrs. Clay (whose health is now very good) joins me in respectful compliments to Mrs. Brooke.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, November 3, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 18th ultimo, and, as it informed me of your intention to go to Richmond, I address this letter to that city. You think I have too good an opinion of mankind. I confess that I have, throughout life, striven to think well of them, but the last thirteen years have shaken my faith very much. I yet, however, believe the mass to be honest, although very liable to deception.

You are certainly right as to one of the two gentlemen mentioned, perhaps as to both, being unwilling to see me elected Chief Magistrate. I was greatly surprised at the course of "The Atlas;" and although Mr. Webster disavows its authority to speak for him, in that particular, there are intelligent persons

near him who believe that "The Atlas" presumed upon his concurrence. The issue of the elections, this fall, so far, have been very unfavorable to the Whig cause. From September of last year to September of this, the current ran deep and strong in our favor, and swept over every State, changing majorities against us, or, at least, diminishing them. All at once, and without any apparent cause, the current reverses its direction. What has produced it? To give you a proof that I am not too confiding, I can not forbear expressing my suspicion that a profuse and corrupt use has been made of the public money. It is almost impossible otherwise to account satisfactorily for what we have witnessed. Amos Kendall was at Columbus the week before the election. How easy was it for him to give orders throughout the State, from that central point of Ohio, to carry the election at any cost. And how can he be brought to account, if he has given such orders?

Other circumstances will enable us to account for some of the results of these elections. In Ohio, the Abolitionists are alleged to have gone against us, almost to a man. Senator Morris, you know, is one of them, and that, put together with the unfortunate case of the Methodist preacher, delivered up by Governor Vance upon the demand of the Governor of Kentucky, turned them against us. Perhaps they were previously inclined toward Mr. Van Buren.

If New York goes against us, as is to be apprehended after what has occurred, our cause will look bad. You will know the event by the time this letter reaches you. It is to be apprehended, because, whether changes have been produced in other States by voluntary impulse of the people, or by corrupt means, the same cause, whatever it may be, is likely to exert itself in New York.

The introduction of this new element of Abolition into our elections can not fail to excite, with all reflecting men, the deepest solicitude. It is, I believe, the first time it has been done. Although their numbers are not very great, they are sufficiently numerous, in several States, to turn the scale. I have now before me a letter from the Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, in which he says: "I should consider (as in all candor I acknowledge I would) the election of any slaveholder to the Presidency a great calamity to the country."

The danger is that the contagion may spread until it reaches

all the free States; and if it ever comes to be acted on as a rule among them, to proscribe slaveholders, they have the numbers to enforce it. Union and concert with them will throw the whole Government into their hands, and when they have once possession, the principle by which they have acquired it will urge them on to other and further encroachments. They will begin by prohibiting the slave trade, as it is called, among the slave States, and by abolishing it in the District of Columbia, and the end will be——

My own position, touching slavery, at the present time, is singular enough. The Abolitionists are denouncing me as a slaveholder, and slaveholders as an Abolitionist, while they both unite on Mr. Van Buren.

I should be extremely happy to visit Richmond and see you and the many other friends I have there, but I can not do it while I remain a *quasi* candidate for the Presidency. A candidate in fact I can not say, and have not said to any human being I would be. I am strongly inclined to promulgate that I will not be, under any circumstances. How would it do? The principal objection which I perceive, is, that they would say that I saw the grapes were sour. But then, what need I care for any thing they may say?

Pray remember me affectionately to Leigh. I rejoice to be able to infer, from a recent letter of his, addressed to another person and sent for my perusal, that his health was fully re-established. Mrs. Clay unites with me in regards to Mrs. B.

WILLIS HALL TO MR. CLAY.

New York, December 14, 1838.

Dear Sir,—I rejoice to learn from the papers that you have arrived safe and in good health and cheerful spirits, in Washington. The accident you met with on your journey gave us much concern. You might have said, perhaps, on the occasion as Cæsar said to the boatman, "*Quid times? Cæsarem invehis!*" I believe most implicitly in your fortunes—indeed, the great source at once of my anxiety for your health and of my confidence in your preservation is the confirmed belief that our Union and the future happy destinies of our country are bound up in your life. Yet the most devout believers do not disdain a little

worldly prudence. Cromwell charged his soldiers to "Trust in Providence, but keep their powder dry!" In the same spirit I would urge you to take care of yourself. Your country never stood in so great need of you.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I presume that this letter will find you quiet at St. Julien. I should have written you before had I any thing interesting to communicate. To-day, on a call for information as to the relation between the Bank of the United States and the Treasury Department, Mr. Rives came out in a speech of remarkable vigor and decision, which showed conclusively that he had cut loose forever from the Administration. Of that I previously entertained no doubt, and now I think the public can entertain none. On the subject of his re-election to the Senate, it would be highly improper for me to interfere, and I do not mean to interfere; but I may to you say that those with whom I have conversed out of Virginia, think that it would be attended with very good effect.

In consequence of the Anti-Masonic and other movements, since the last session of Congress, at the commencement of this my friends were a little discouraged. They are recovering from it, think that things look much better, and entertain confidence that public opinion, in regard to the next Presidency, will remain unchanged, as it was at the last session.

My own opinion is that, with a view to arrest the unfortunate divisions which exist among us, to check the progress of intrigues, and to secure concentration, action at Richmond, by the Whig portion of the Legislature (including, if possible, the Conservatives) is highly expedient. Such a movement would probably be followed and seconded at Albany; and in that case, I think the question would be settled, and our future difficulties would afterward constantly decrease. In this opinion the most intelligent of our party, with whom I have conversed, fully concur.

It is highly important, if any thing is done, that the Conservatives should unite at Richmond, or if they can not be prevailed upon to do so, that there should be as little division as possible

among the Whigs. The Northern Conservatives, including Mr. Talmadge, remain firm and decided. And my information from New York generally is full of encouragement. The mock nomination of the Anti-Masons has fallen still-born, and has produced no material effect even in the Anti-Masonic portion of the State. It appears that in the pretended Convention, there was not a delegate elected by a primary meeting whatever of the Anti-Masons; that except the Delegates from Pennsylvania (who were nominated at some previous Convention), not a member held his seat in virtue of any election whatever; and that some member from New York assumed the power to cast the whole vote of that State!

Be pleased to present my best respects to Mrs. Brooke.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, December 24, 1838.

My dear Sir,—I duly received your last favor with its inclosure, which is indeed a curiosity, which I will keep on file subject to your order. I ventured to give the substance of it to a Senator of this State, the late Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong, a very worthy and orthodox gentleman who believes that original depravity comprehends political as well as what is more strictly moral, and accounts this as a mere variety among innumerable instances. Of late "The Atlas" has been silent on a certain topic, but whether this be preliminary to a new outbreak, a few days will determine. I can not yet find that the parties concerned in the project comprehend any persons hereabout, beyond a *petit comité* who are supposed to command the back stairs of that press. But I suspect there must be others, and that there is some overt communion with "The American," etc., in New York. We shall see. Mr. Webster does not leave Boston, as I hear, until the meeting of the Legislature or about that time, January 1st. Whether he has any object in the delay, beyond his own convenience, I can not say. A rumor has prevailed of his intention to decline a re-election, but of this I have no convincing evidence. I think there is a disposition among the Whigs here to speak plainly, and as you would approve, on a certain subject. But until he unequivocally withdraws from the canvass you can easily see that they must feel under restraint. The most to be hoped prior to

that event, is a declaration by the Legislature adhering to him as their first choice, and announcing yourself as the second. Some pains will be taken to affect this, and I must at present think with success. But neither my information nor influence are of the value that was attached to them, in "the days when I was young." I have also been housed for three weeks with the "unpleasant pains which infest the toe," but I hope to be on my legs to-morrow, otherwise I can do nothing, unless, like poor Judge B., I drive into the public offices. You are aware of the disturbing causes which are every where at work to pollute the political current, and of the address with which antagonist causes are too often made to co-operate in the same result. Anti-Masonry I consider as effete in itself. There is no longer zeal among its votaries. The mission from this State was an absolute burlesque. Still it will furnish pretenses for paragraphs and cabals. I have more fear in regard of abolition. The danger is that the Whigs will identify themselves, at least in appearance, with the Abolitionists, and thus souse themselves into their toils. This will be folly and madness without excuse. So deeply impressed am I with an opinion of the extreme infatuation of this officiousness that I am reconciled to Atherton's resolutions, at the avowal of which some of my friends appear to be horrified; but they forgive me as an old gentleman whose vagaries do no harm. By the by, I have been told that one of the "representatives" alluded to in H——n's letter is Mr. C——g, of this State, now in Congress.

I began this merely as an acknowledgment of yours and have rambled on. When any thing occurs that I think may be gratifying to know I will take leave to apprize you of it, and though at seventy-three I have little reason to calculate upon seeing you at the head of the nation, the hope of it is not among the least of my septuagenarian comforts.

I am very faithfully and respectfully, dear sir, yours, etc

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, December 26, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your two favors of the 24th. What I may say on the subject of Mr. Rives' re-election must be regarded as expressed at your instance, and as presenting opinions which

prevail exterior to Virginia, without any intention on my part to interfere in a local election in a State in which I am no resident.

Those out of your State are struck by the fact that a co-operation between the Whigs and Conservatives will secure a majority against the Administration ; and that without it the majority may be the other way.

The object, therefore, to be accomplished, if it be practicable, is to secure that majority co-operation ; and to those at a distance Mr. Rives' re-election appears to be a probable means. If it be not ; if a hearty co-operation can not be produced by it ; if nothing is to be gained but Mr. Rives himself, quite a different view of the question would be entertained. Mr. Rives has himself no claim upon the Whigs but those which arise from his recent course ; and confining the question to him alone, his expunging vote and former course would more than neutralize his recent claims. But a more extended view should be taken of the matter. If he can be used as an instrument to acquire an accession of strength that would array Virginia against the Administration, the inquiry then would be, whether sound policy does not demand that we should sacrifice all feelings excited by a highly exceptionable vote, in consideration of a great object to be gained for the good of our country. I appreciate and feel sensibly all the difficulties in making such a sacrifice, but I think that I could submit to it, if I had a reasonable certainty of that object being secured.

It is manifest that, if we repel the advances of all the former members of the Jackson party to unite with us, under whatever name they may adopt, we must remain in a perpetual and hopeless minority.

Should we not extend to the repentant in politics the same forgiveness which the Christian religion promises to the contrite, even in the eleventh hour ? The difference between Mr. Rives and some others now incorporated in our party, is, that their watches did not run together.

Already has some mischief been done in Ohio, and in other places, by a refusal of all conciliation of the Conservatives. It was obvious that their position was temporary, and could not be maintained for any length of time. It was at a half-way house. They must therefore fall back into the ranks of their old associates, or be absorbed by us. And it seems to be a prevailing opinion here to be expedient to avail the country of the services

of as many of them as we can get, either as allies or as a part of our consolidated force. I should add that it is feared, if he be not re-elected, the event will operate badly out of, as well as in Virginia.

This is the view which is taken by those out of Virginia. Its basis is the bringing about a co-operation in that State between the Whigs and Conservatives by his re-election. If that can not be effected (and of that those on the spot are the best judges), why, then, there will be another state of the question.

I transmit this hasty letter for your own eye only. I know how justly sensitive to all foreign intervention the people of Virginia are, and I should not have touched on this delicate topic but upon your invitation.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favors of 29th ultimo and 5th instant. I regret extremely the existence of so much division of opinion in Virginia, respecting the election of a Senator, and sincerely hope that our friends may all become reconciled, and that what they may finally do may conduce to the success of our cause and the interest of our country. I have no individual wishes separate from the common good. What is best to be done at Richmond those alone can determine who there have a view of all circumstances. It is not, however, to be disguised, that what may be done will exercise an influence beyond the confines of the State.

I have been struggling to-day, and some previous days, on the land subject. My friends are highly gratified with my exertions, and I hope and believe they have had some effect. Whether it will be practicable much longer to save that great interest depends upon the future course of the old States. I can not much longer defeat the combined action of the Administration and the new States.

Mr. Calhoun, of our State, being on a visit of business at Richmond, I have given him a letter of introduction to you. He is intelligent, shrewd, and trustworthy. You may give him all confidence.

HARRISON GRAY OTIS TO MR. CLAY.

Boston, January 11, 1839.

My dear Sir,—Your friend Constans seems, for the present at least, to have blown his blast. I hope you may have continued to think well of the last letters, as I confess that I jump in judgment with the writer. It is evident, I think, however, that he writes under restraint, and plays with an oblique stroke, but he should drive the two balls ("ebony and topaz") into the same pocket.

I have conversed with a very respectable and intelligent member of the Massachusetts Senate, who, having taken some pains to sound opinions, reports to me that he can not find an individual who approves of the freak of "The Atlas." I know, also, that the editor of "The Courier," and I believe, that the editors of all the Whig papers here, are equally opposed to the doctrines of that journal. Still there is an under-current somewhere. Mr. W. has again disclaimed his privity to or approbation of "The Atlas" heresy, and said he thought it unlucky.

But I am satisfied he does not wish that the Legislature should move on the line of operation pointed out by Constans—repeating their quondam opinions. I can't say that he would advise to any action on the subject. Probably he thinks best to do nothing. I also apprehend that he thinks you did him ill offices by favoring H., at his expense, in 1836, and that you would still promote his (H.'s) interest next to your own. You will judge whether it is worth while to attempt, through friends, to have any *éclaircissement* on that point. I am also certain that he has no idea at present of saying *nolo episcopari*, though it seems unimaginable that he expects any important support. My opinions are not gathered from a personal interview with him, otherwise I would not feel at liberty to express them. I have met him but once since his return in summer. Nor do I violate any confidence in giving you these opinions; but they are well founded. You can easily see that individuals, knowing this to be his way of thinking, may feel embarrassed in taking a step which, though not intended to be adverse to him, might be so construed; and that the consequence may be a suppression of further action by the Legislature. As yet, however, it is impossible to judge; but that any effort will be made to nominate H. I do not believe, though it has been probably intended by the *petit comité*.

Wednesday is assigned for choice of Senator. Mr. W. will be nominated at his own request, and will, doubtless, be chosen. Rumors were afloat of his intention to abdicate, and the Government was preparing to cut in. I am "confoundedly" afraid he will be cut out next year, and that this State will be lost. The disturbing causes are inauspicious. The last Legislature passed an absurd act prohibitory of selling spirits in quantities less than fifteen gallons. Now petitions are presented for a repeal. I have been dragged into heading one, which is followed up with five thousand names; though I have fought shy for many long years of all efforts to bring me out as an actor in the political scene, yet this strikes me as a monstrous abomination, and I yielded to urgent solicitations to become bell-wether. I still doubt the law will not be repealed; and if not, it will be a fulcrum by which the Whig party will be capsized. The "rogues in spirit" will combine with the "rogues in grain."

Then, again, there will be abolition. Our people, I fear, will not be silent. It is clear that the efforts of the Administration are directed to the identifying Whiggism and Abolitionism, and the Whig party has not sense enough to keep free from the coils of the black snake. Your old Ghent colleague, though a person of extraordinary talents, and, as I believe, of great merit as a private citizen, is, I think, a variety *per se* in the human family. But as my old friend (and General Washington's old friend), Mrs. Powel, of Philadelphia, used to say, when puzzled by any oddity or anomaly of character: "Why, my dear, you know God Almighty makes all sorts of men, women, and children."

I have not shown H.'s letter since your last, nor shall I but with great discretion—perhaps not at all, but only state the substance of the extract to two or three friends.

I send you "The Atlas" of to-day; it is triple brass. Think of the extract of his letter to you in a parallel column—"Think of that Master Brooke." I doubt I could print them in a handbill, and clear one of Nick's bank shares. But I suppose you are right in your forbearance, though my mouth waters for such a *bon bon.*

I express no sentiments to you that I should hesitate to avow any where, time and place fitting, yet do not wish to be "talked about;" and I know you will govern yourself accordingly.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

SENATE CHAMBER, January 18, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your two favors of the 16th and 17th inst. I am highly gratified with the prospects which exists at Richmond, of general concurrence among the Opposition, as to the Presidential election, whatever divisions may unhappily exist on another question. It is of very great importance that there should be some expression of the preference which is entertained in Virginia, and its influence elsewhere would be great, if not decisive.

I lament exceedingly, the unfortunate divisions which prevail, in respect to the Senatorial elections. Is it possible that there is any danger of the election of a friend of the Administration? Is it possible that any Whig can prefer such a friend to a Conservative?

By the by, Mr. Rives, in conversation with me, expressed surprise at your opposition to his re-election. He derived different impressions from his intercourse with you at the White Sulphur Springs. His surprise was not accompanied with any complaint, but on the contrary, with declarations of high regard, and personal esteem for you.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

SENATE CHAMBER, January 28, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your several favors respecting the state of things at Richmond, in reference to your Senatorial election, and thank you for them. I did not acknowledge them severally as they arrived, because they did not seem to call for any particular observation from me. The divisions and dissensions in the Legislature at Richmond, are deeply to be deplored, and I fervently hope that means may be found to heal and harmonize. At Annapolis, they have just elected, or re-elected, Mr. Merrick, and concord, it is thought, will be again restored.

The spirits of my friends are again revived, and they think that they see, in various quarters, indications of the final result which their partiality prompts them to desire. I believe myself that the current in my favor, which for the moment appeared to be impeded, will again burst forward, with accumulated strength.

The movement which you suppose will take place at Richmond, if made, would give great impulse to that current.

Poor Mrs. Wickham, I see, is gone. Those who are falling around us, should remind us that we, ere long, must follow them, and their departure diminishes the motives of our remaining here.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, April 2, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 13th ult., and felt highly gratified with the favorable account of the state of public affairs in Virginia, which it communicates. I must, however, retort upon you a charge that is often made against me, that I fear you are too sanguine. There seems to be making a prodigious effort on the side of the Administration, and I see no evidence of corresponding or counteracting exertions on the other side. Their late Convention will strengthen them, because it is an organization of their party, and the members will return to their respective homes, animated by the confidence and hopes inspired by their interchange of opinion and feeling. Where parties are nearly balanced, that which is disciplined, and in a state of complete organization, is almost sure to prevail over its adversary in the contest. I never was more perfectly convinced than I was in 1832, of the immense importance of a Convention, followed by a county and state organization. In the autumn of that year, just before the Presidential election, the young men held a Convention in Lexington. It was well attended—filled with the *élite* of the State. They made many stirring and eloquent speeches, published an address to the State, put it into complete organization, by the appointment in all the counties of large Committees of Vigilance and Correspondence, and returned home full of enthusiasm. The result was, Jackson was beaten by upward of seven thousand votes. If you could get a similar convention of young men at Charlottesville, or Staunton, just before the election, I believe that it would be attended with a similar result.

By the by, is it possible that two of the judges of the Court of Appeals, attended and took part in the proceedings of the recent Convention, and that Judge Tucker presided? If it be true, I regard the fact as a strong mark of the degeneracy of the times.

I have not enjoyed good health since my return home, from severe colds, but I am getting better, and we have the prospect of an early and fine spring. I found Mrs. Clay in her usual good health.

Is it possible that there will be no arrangement between Messrs. Harvie and Botts; and that they will both persevere, with the certainty of both being defeated? In such a state of things, the merit is with the declining party, whatever it may be.

In Kentucky, every thing looks fair. We may carry every Congressional district, and we may be defeated in three. I think not more. From Tennessee, too, from Mississippi and Louisiana, I receive the most favorable accounts.

Do me the favor to present the warm regards of Mrs. Clay and myself to Mrs. Brooke.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL COMBS.

MAYSVILLE, July 4, 1839.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Having heard here that H. E. Baron de Marechal, the Austrian Minister, has gone to Lexington, I have inclosed to him a letter of introduction to you, one to Major Tilford, and one to Mrs. Clay. I wish you would all contrive to make him feel agreeable and happy. He is plain, unaffected, and intelligent.

Take him out to see Mrs. Clay, giving her some notice of his coming. And tell her to make up a little afternoon party for him, and give him some ice-creams, etc.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL COMBS.

WASHINGTON, December 1, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I transmit you inclosed a letter. I received that which you did me the favor to address to me from New York, and noted its contents.

All eyes are now turned toward your proceedings at Harrisburg, which I hope may be such as to produce union, harmony, and success.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL COMBS.

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received and thank you for your several letters addressed to me from New York and Philadelphia.

You have found a most extraordinary state of things in respect to the Convention at Harrisburg and General Scott.

I understand it to be conceded, by the Delegates and Members of Congress from New York, a majority of whom have waited on the General, that eight or nine tenths of the Whigs of that State prefer me. Nevertheless they prefer to make a nomination in conformity to the wishes of the one or two tenths.

Now the question is, and it may be worked by the rule of three, whether it is easier to bring over eight or nine tenths to one or two tenths, or one or two tenths to eight or nine? whether the majority (and such a majority!) can be easier drawn to the minority, or the minority, small as it is, to the majority?

What security is there that if a nomination is made, contrary to the wishes of a large majority, there is not danger of a loss, out of that majority, greater in extent than the one or two tenths who are only to be conciliated?

But I will not pursue this matter. The considerations must all be obvious to you.

CHAPTER XI.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1840, '41, '42, AND '43.

C. HAMMOND TO MR. CLAY.

CINCINNATI, January 21, 1840.

DEAR CLAY,—Ever since the determination of the Harrisburg Convention was known, I have been watching for a little abatement of decrepitude, that I might address you a letter of congratulation, in my own hand. I have now attempted it.

I do think that you have great reason to be thankful that the burden of being a candidate for the Presidency was not put upon you. In my view the canvass was always full of degradation, and I think that now-a-days its humiliation is greatly increased. Since the categories of Sherrod Williams set the precedent, every one claims to question the candidate of his life, opinions, and general conduct. An indecent impudence marks the movements of his friends; the foulest and often most painful imputations characterize the assaults of opponents. A man has to give up his own self-respect, or every hour give offense to some pedagogue that stands over him with uplifted rod. From such a condition I would ask that all high-minded men may be delivered, and I would earnestly condole with every friend made subject to it by the imperious call of the country. And, after all, what is the station when attained? Just that in which no upright, independent man can feel himself at ease, or hold his own assurance that he makes his own opinions the basis of his public acts. I pray you take no exception to an instance I shall cite.

J. Q. Adams, in November last, wrote a strong letter on the Amistad case. How widely does it vary, in its positions of public law, from those urged upon the British Government by the Department of State, respecting slaves escaping to Canada, when

Mr. Adams was President of the United States! Thus must the man be lost in the office. At best, it requires a good scribe and an easily controlled docility.

The place you now hold has ever appeared of the highest honor to me, when held as you hold it, in ample confidence with your constituents. A Senator is the adviser and the trier of the President; a Senator, thoroughly informed of public affairs, endowed with high powers of elocution, braced with nerve for every exigency, possessed of a competent estate, and deep in the confidence of his State, is just the man I could once have so far envied as to wish that what he had in enjoyment could be some day within my reach.

I congratulate you and the country that you are a Senator and I hope you will not lightly give up the place. Every thing we see or hear, or attempt to understand, points to approaching exigences, in which the country must call you to the rescue.

MR. CLAY TO A COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, March 26, 1840.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received your letter inviting me to deliver an address at a celebration of the raising of the seige of Fort Meiggs, proposed the 11th of June, 1840. Considering the highly respectable source whence the proposal of this celebration originated, the motive of it, and the friendly terms in which you have conveyed the invitation, it would afford me much satisfaction to be able to accept it; but, if my public duties do not, at that time, require my attendance here, I shall have just reached my home, after an absence of six months. I can not, therefore, contract the engagement which you invite me to make, and must leave to some other person the gratification of addressing our fellow-citizens on the occasion in contemplation.

MR. FOX (BRITISH MINISTER) TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1840.

DEAR SIR,—I believe it will be more correct that I should wait to see what Congress will do, before I give away any of

the copies sent to me of the British Commissioner's Report. I shall then, I hope, be able to send it to you, either by Mr. Crittenden, or some other of your friends in Congress who may be returning at the close of the session to your State, and whom I can request to take charge of it.

I inclose the draft accepted at thirty days, which I will provide duly for the settlement of at the office of the United States Bank here. With high respect, yours very faithfully.

JUDGE (HENRY) BALDWIN TO MR. CLAY.

——— 1840.

My dear Sir,—I have this moment come from Bamford's through the rain. The first thing I read was a paper containing your remarks on Gallatin's pamphlet. It is, in the language of Scripture, health to my soul, and marrow to my bones. It is, as we say in Pennsylvania of apple-toddy—meat, drink, washing, and lodging. Here is a token from one who always respected you as his old speaker, and schoolmaster in politics, elections, and candidates—*non obstanti*—and who in times of the highest excitement, never said of you as a statesman, a harsher thing than is in the pamphlet he put into your hands.

(Any thing connected with the pending election, to the contrary notwithstanding, which has nothing to do with the personal accounts of H. B. and H. C.)

Here is a drop of the honest stuff—genuine Pennsylvania, the true extract, the essence of the American system, the produce of the same soil which gave us birth, and whence we derive our bread. It will suit an American palate, and raise no conscientious, constitutional scruples in an American stomach. Take a drop of it to my health in memory of Auld Lang Syne.

This Florida case is a tough one. I shall have three or four evenings of leisure. When you, Creighton, Vance, and Ewing are disposed to bury old grudges, let me know it. Mrs. Bamford has a small moiety of the self same, and you will all be as welcome as the flowers of May.

This is for your eye and those named, but for no others.

GENERAL HARRISON TO MR. CLAY.

North Bend, November 15, 1840.

My dear Sir,—I shall set out for Louisville, in the mail boat, to-morrow. I have written to Mr. C. Wickliffe (with whom I have the business which takes me to Kentucky), to meet me in Frankfort (having understood that he has removed to Bardstown).

Since my letter to you, I have thought that our personal meeting might give rise to speculations, and even jealousies, which it might be well to avoid; for, although I have made up my mind to disregard things of that sort when they are unavoidable, yet, as all the objects to be answered by our seeing each other might be accomplished through a mutual friend or friends, I submit to you whether it would not be better to adopt this mode of communication. If you think so, I request you to name to me the friend, as heretofore, to whom I may communicate my views upon a certain important action of mine, and receive yours in return. Upon the subject to which I allude, I assure you I have had no sort of communication with any one, unless it be important suggestions by unknown individuals (with but one exception. I refer to two letters written by a man whom I know, suggesting a general principle). I inclose this to Mr. Crittenden. I shall stay but one day in Louisville, if I can get away.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

Washington, December 8, 1840.

My dear Sir,—I arrived here safely the day before yesterday. Prior to my departure from home, I received your favor addressed to me there, as I now have that of the 6th, addressed to me here. I deeply regretted the loss of the Virginia vote, but presumed it was the result of fraud, and other causes. We are looking with great interest to the course of your Legislature. The want of a quorum in the Senate has prevented the reception of the President's Message. We shall get it to-day or to-morrow.

I left General Harrison at Lexington, and I have seen and conversed a good deal with him. He is much broken, but his mind retains all its strength and vigor. He appears to be anima-

ted by the best dispositions, and if he acts in conformity to them, our hopes will be all realized. I communicated to him that, during the short time I expected to remain in public life, I had no desire to change my position in the Senate. He professed, and I have no doubt now entertains, sentiments of warm regard and attachment to me. I do not believe that he had then made up his mind as to the members of his Cabinet. I think it probable, although he did not say so, that he will invite Crittenden and Ewing to take places in it. Beyond that I will not venture even a conjecture. I thought it right to explain frankly to him my feelings and relations toward Mr. Webster, and I stated to him that, although my confidence in that gentleman had been somewhat shaken, during the last eight years, I did not see how any Whig President could overlook him; that if I had been elected, I should have felt myself constrained to offer him some distinguished station; and that if he chose to appoint him to office, it would not diminish the interest I felt in the success of his Administration, nor my zeal in its support, if it were conducted in the principles I hoped it would be. I added an expression of my opinion that he was not suited to the office of Secretary of the Treasury, which I had understood some of his friends wished him to fill.

The General is to be here in a few weeks, to go to Virginia, and to return about the 4th of March.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 5th. I should have written to you before but I really had nothing to write. I am sorry that mere rumors about the composition of the Cabinet should fill any Virginia Whig with apprehension of the Spring elections. I venture to say that Gen. Harrison will have a better Cabinet, and less of federalism in it than even Jackson or Van Buren had. What more is wanted? Are not some of our friends too nervous? Mr. Webster, I suppose, will be a member of it; but among all the rest talked of I know of no Federalist. "The Enquirer" calls Mr. Crittenden most untruly a Federalist.

So it does me. But I hope that Virginia will no longer be affected by the slang of "The Enquirer."

The exact time is not known when General Harrison will be here. It is conjectured that it will be from the 15th to the 25th instant.

PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, January 28, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I was met, on my arrival here, by a confidential communication, through my nephew, the Speaker, from Mr. Weed, who expressed some delicacy about broaching the subject of it to me personally, but hoped and intended to have a conference with me (as he had) before I left Albany. The subject was the contemplated appointment of Mr. Curtis as Collector of the Customs in New York, and the following was the purport of the communication.

That the Governor and his friends are extremely anxious for the appointment of Mr. Curtis, who, although not personally popular, is represented as possessing an extraordinary share of tact or stratagem; and as being able, by his skill in planning and combining, and his untiring industry in executing, to produce the most astonishing political results. That, with the office of Collector (which he considers as second only in influence to that of Postmaster-General) he could, on all important occasions, command the vote of the city of New York, and, *par conséquence*, of the State. That he is the intimate friend of Mr. Webster, and possesses such influence over him as to be able to direct all his important political movements, an instance of which was shown in his withdrawing Mr. Webster's name from the list of Presidential candidates without his knowledge or consultation with him, because he was fully satisfied that Mr. Webster could not then, as he now is, that he never can be elected to that office; and (although it might be disheartening and injurious to tell him so at this time) that he must not and will not be a candidate for the next term. That he (Mr. Curtis) has great respect for your political character, and opposed your nomination only because he was convinced that if you had been nominated you could not have been elected; that, your position being altered, you are now the only prominent candidate of the Whig party for the next term, and can not fail of success, unless some most unex-

pected event should interpose to prevent it. That he (Curtis) is so strongly fortified in his application for the Collectorship, that he thinks nothing can defeat it. Although he would feel much gratification in having your good wishes, and finally, that they (Mr. Weed and the Governor) had offered these suggestions to me under the belief that I enjoyed your confidence ; and with the hope that your views in regard to Mr. Curtis may accord with those above expressed.

My reply to Mr. Weed was, in substance, that I knew but little of what was passing at the seat of Government, and was ignorant of your views, and more so of those of General Harrison, on the subject of the principal official appointments ; that I knew, as indeed your recent movements had proved, that you were extremely anxious to retire from the turmoil of politics, and have as little to do with the operations of the Government as would be consistent with your duties as a citizen ; but that, at the same time, it was characteristic of you not to withhold your opinions, if they should be asked, on subjects involving the interests of the country. I told him too, that I thought it would be presuming too much to expect you to interfere in behalf of Mr. Curtis, with a full knowledge, which you must be presumed to possess, of the industry and zeal he had displayed in defeating your nomination, and that too in a total disregard of the known wishes of a large majority of the Whigs of this State. Still, however, that it was proper you should know what were the opinions of the Governor and his friends, in relation to Mr. Curtis, and that I would mention the subject in my next letter to you.

Now I do not doubt that Mr. Curtis is a man of rare address and management ; nor that he wields the power over Mr. Webster's volitions that is claimed for him ; nor that he will exert that power, and probably with success, in preventing his (Mr. Webster's) being a candidate at the next election ; nor that it is his present wish and intention (especially if you should favor his views) to support you. And I have as little doubt that if he succeeds in obtaining the office, its patronage will be disposed in favors to his particular political friends.

On the preceding facts, which I thought it my duty to communicate to you, I shall express no opinion, for surely no one is better able than yourself to weigh and decide on the various considerations which grow out of them.

As I believe I have given you quite matter enough for one dispatch, I will stop here at the end of my sheet, and probably write you again, some few days hence, from Albany.

I am, as always, with great respect and regard, your obedient servant.

PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

NIAGARA FALLS, February 20, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 7th instant, and am not surprised at the feeling it manifests in regard to the conduct of the gentleman in New York, who has ventured to put forth such bold views and opinions in relation to his friend, Mr. Webster, nor at the wish you express that this conduct should be made known to the latter gentleman.

But I feel that I can not, and ought not, to consent to have such communication made by or through me, for various reasons, one of which, and that decisive, is, that the matters mentioned in my letter were imparted to me in strict confidence, and under such injunctions of secresy as would forbid their going abroad, most especially in that particular direction. Another reason is, that, although I had a conversation with Mr. Weed, predicated entirely on the facts communicated by him through my nephew, I can not now be positive whether the whole of these facts were distinctly stated by both, or by one, and which of them, only.

As you may not have correctly understood that part of my nephew's communication, I will now state it a little more at large.

Mr. Curtis was made to say that Mr. Webster was a great and ambitious man; that his affections had been long set upon the Presidency; that he had recently been quite unfortunate in his private pecuniary speculations, and repeated disappointments in these had already given a dyspeptic or hypochondriacal hue to his mind and feelings; and that his friends were afraid that he might fall into the indulgence of habits which such a state of despondency is too liable to produce, and would prove ruinous to him; that it was, therefore, incumbent on them to treat him with great delicacy, and rather to encourage than to thwart him in his ambitious aspirations; and that it was under such views of Mr. Webster's situation that Mr. Curtis thought it inexpedient to disclose to him, at present, his real opinion in regard to Mr. Webster's future prospects for the Presidency.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, February 5, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your two last favors. During the twelve last years I have recommended no person for any place whatever, to the appointing power of the Federal Government. All that I could do, therefore, to promote your wishes as to Dr. Berkly, was to urge Mr. Roane to exert himself, which I believe he has done most faithfully; but I am sorry to be obliged to inform you that it has been unavailingly. He this moment informed me that the appointment has been given to a Mr. Brooks.

I have been constrained, after a full consideration, and on a deliberate survey of the whole ground, to adopt the principle of non-interference with the new Administration, as to official appointments. Without it, if the day had a duration of forty-eight hours instead of twenty-four, I should be unable to attend to the applications I receive.

We have nothing new here which the papers do not communicate. There has been a little, not much, diversity of opinion as to an extra session; but opinions are settling down as to its necessity.

General Harrison probably will get to Baltimore to-night.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—You complain of my arrearage in our mutual correspondence, and with, at least, apparent cause; but I have never passed a winter of so much pressure as the one which has just terminated, if indeed it can be said to have terminated. The painful alternative was presented to me of a neglect of my private correspondence, or of my public duties. I could not hesitate which branch of it to adopt. I have not been able to transmit an answer to one out of every hundred letters that I have received.

Moreover, I have had but little of interest to communicate of which the papers did not inform you.

The new Senate has opened with a decided, practical, and available majority of twenty-nine to twenty-two, there being one vacancy from Tennessee. That majority, I think, may be

relied on in almost all of the measures of the new Administration.

The Senate will adjourn on Monday. The appointments made are, almost exclusively, to fill existing vacancies. General Payton has received that of Post-master at Richmond.

I pray you to present my affectionate regards to Mrs. Brooke.

P. B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

Niagara Falls, February 20, 1841.

Dear Sir,—I wrote you from Albany, a few days since, on the subject of a National Bank, to be owned by the several States in their corporate capacities; the capital to be raised on a pledge by each State of its interest, or the proceeds of it, in the national domain, guaranteed by the credit of the general Government, which would at once insure the realization of any desired amount; the power of organizing and directing the operations of the institution to be divided between and exercised by the general Government and the several States, upon the great principle of separate and yet combined and harmonious powers now exercised in relation to other great interests.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL HARRISON.

Washington, March 15, 1841.

My dear Sir,—Your incessant engagements preclude the probability of my having any opportunity of a private conversation with you, prior to my departure from this city. I therefore adopt this mode of saying a few words before I go.

I was mortified by the suggestion you made to me on Saturday, that I had been represented as dictating to you, or to the new Administration—mortified, because it is unfounded in fact, and because there is danger of the fears, that I intimated to you at Frankfort, of my enemies poisoning your mind toward me.

In what, in truth, can they allege a dictation, or even interference, on my part? In the formation of your Cabinet? You

can contradict them. In the administration of the public patronage? The whole Cabinet as well as yourself can say that. I have recommended nobody for any office. I have sought none for myself, or my friends. I desire none. A thousand times have my feelings been wounded, by communicating to those who have applied to me, that I am obliged to abstain inflexibly from all interference in official appointments.

I learned to-day, with infinite surprise, that I had been represented as saying that Mr. Curtis *should not* be appointed Collector of New York. It is utterly unfounded. I never uttered such expressions in relation to that or any other office, of the humblest grade, within your gift. I have never gone beyond expressing the opinion that he is faithless and perfidious, and, in my judgment, unworthy of the place. It is one of the artifices by which he expects to succeed.

If to express freely my opinion, as a citizen and as a Senator, in regard to public matters, be dictation, then I have dictated, and not otherwise. There is but one alternative which I could embrace, to prevent the exercise of this common right of freedom of opinion, and that is retirement to private life. That I am most desirous of, and if I do not promptly indulge the feeling, it is because I entertain the hope—perhaps vain hope—that by remaining a little longer in the Senate, I may possibly render some service to a country to whose interests my life has been dedicated.

I do not wish to trouble you with answering this note. I could not reconcile it to my feelings to abstain from writing it. Your heart, in which I have the greatest confidence, will justly appreciate the motives of, whatever others may say or insinuate, your true and faithful friend.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, May 14, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 6th instant. My health, or perhaps I should rather say, my strength is not fully re-established, nor do I expect it until warm weather, if that should ever again come.

I leave home for Washington on the 20th instant. I expect to go by Wheeling, and without Mrs. Clay.

I repair to my post in the Senate with strong hopes, not, however, unmixed with fears. If the Executive will cordially cooperate in carrying out the Whig measures, all will be well. Otherwise every thing is at hazard. The Western elections, as far as I have yet heard, have terminated favorably.

Mrs. Clay joins me in warm regards to Mrs. Brooke.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your kind suggestions as to the best mode of preserving my health. The attack last March in Baltimore was more severe than I was aware of at the time; but, thank God, my health now, notwithstanding all my labors, is better than it was when I came here. This I attribute to the exercise which I take every morning, and to the perfectly regular life which I lead.

It is very uncertain when Congress will adjourn. I begin now to fear that it will not be until September. I shall probably return by the route of the White Sulphur, but of that there is no certainty.

Mr. Tyler's opinions about a Bank are giving us great trouble. Indeed, they not only threaten a defeat on that measure, but endanger the permanency, and the ascendency of the Whig cause. Is it not deplorable that such a cause should be put in jeopardy in such a way? He conciliates nobody by his particular notions. The Locos are more opposed to the scheme than to an old fashioned Bank, and ninety-nine out of a hundred of the Whigs are decidedly adverse to it.

COL. W. HAMPTON TO MR. CLAY.

MILLWOOD, August 20, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 11th instant did not reach me until last evening; inclosed you will receive my acceptance of the bill of exchange you sent me, which I have stipulated to pay, at Messrs. Goodhue & Co., my agents in New York.

You will, I hope, decide upon taking Sovereign. He will, I

think, suit your countrymen, better than Monarch, being much more showy, and is also a horse, in a very high form.

We are anxiously expecting to hear the fate of the Bank bill. Should the President return it with his veto, I for one, shall despair for the Republic; if our friends betray us, what can we expect from our opponents?

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

ASHLAND, October 28, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 21st, to-day, from which I infer your good health, as I think I recognize in its tone, your buoyant spirits. Without ever having been laid up, I have not been always well since my return from Washington. I have worked too hard, and want rest. This feeling has given rise to a serious question which I have now under consideration, and that is, whether I shall not resign my seat in the Senate. If I should return, it will be with the hope of getting away before the close of the session; and with a resolution to take a less active part in the public business.

You inquire what will be done with the Government Land Warrants. I believe I have expressed my opinion to you heretofore, fully about them; but, without being able to specify the time when they shall be passed on by Congress, I should not be surprised if they are ultimately provided for.

So Mr. G. says we are to have no fiscal agent! That is what I have expected. Having rejected a National Bank, the State Banks, and the Sub-Treasury, I could not conceive what other project of an agent even Mr. Tyler's ingenuity could present.

The issue of the elections this fall, however much to be regretted, perhaps ought not to surprise us. An army which believes itself betrayed by its commander-in-chief, will never fight well under him, or while he remains in authority. Our defeats have not been produced by any accession of strength to our adversaries, but simply because our friends would not go to the polls. I think they were wrong, but their conduct was natural.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

WASHINGTON, January 27, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have my old apology for not writing to you, which I have to submit to your kindness, to which I must add that I have not been very well, and really nothing of interest to write.

I was glad to learn that you had it in your power to accept the office of President of the Court of Appeals, and that you were right to decline it. As we advance in years, our labors ought to lighten. With the view to lessen mine, and in contemplation of the unhappy and disturbed state of our public councils, arising out of the course of Mr. Tyler, I mean to resign my seat in the Senate, during this session. I want rest, and my private affairs want attention. Nevertheless, I would make any personal sacrifice, if, by remaining here, I could do any good, but my belief is I can effect nothing, and perhaps my absence may remove an obstacle to something being done by others. I shall therefore go home in the spring.

The papers will inform you of the afflicting scenes passing in the House of Representatives. They will fill every patriot bosom with deep distress.

RICHARD RUSH TO MR. CLAY.

SYDENHAM, near PHILADELPHIA, February 14, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am living here on a few acres that I like so much better than the town, that although near enough to hear its bells, when the wind sets right, I never go there when I can help it, and have nothing to do with its business, which is mentioned merely to account for my being behind the world in important matters and movements that are going on. As well as I can catch some of these at present, it would seem that you are about to withdraw from the Senate, and if so, I am unable any longer to stand out against an impulse that puts the pen into my hand, making me say, how, amid all the mutations of the last ten years, I have, under all circumstances, done justice to your patriotism, in alliance with all the other qualities, to mark you out as the true head of the party, whose principles you have so pre-eminently espoused. Such a testimony can be of

no value to you, but it gratifies me to give it utterance from my seclusion and leisure out here, founded as it is on convictions derived while associated with you in the public service, and although not able to side with that party in public measures, I continue to think that it will do great injustice to itself, if it does not regard you as its natural candidate for the highest honor it can bestow. At a 4th of July celebration in the neighborhood of Boston, in 1840, I expressed this sentiment as strongly as I could, General Harrison then being its candidate, which may have been too unimportant to have fallen under your notice, as published in the papers of the day, and which is only alluded to now, as the recorded and steady feelings prompting these lines to you.

I am too much out of the world to be informed if Mrs. Clay is at Washington. If she is, Mrs. Rush, who often recalls her agreeable intercourse with her family, requests me to convey her affectionate remembrances to her, and her compliments to you. I am glad to say she is quite well, and beginning to think of her honeysuckles and roses as the spring approaches, if indeed we have not had it all the winter. With some grown-up daughters now around her, we are about as well content and happy as we can expect, and both of us much inclined to the old Frenchman's maxim, that "every thing is for the best, in this best of worlds."

In the sentiments I have thus thrown upon you, when supposing that you are about to retire from your present position, and in those of invariable personal esteem, I beg you to believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours.

RICHARD RUSH TO MR. CLAY.

SYDENHAM, near PHILADELPHIA, February 15, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I follow my letter of yesterday, with this of to-day. In 1833, when I first came to live here, I threw out a volume founded on my mission to England, in the course of which (chapter 17, closing part), if so humble a production ever came under your eye, you will have seen that I alluded to your early exertions in behalf of Spanish American emancipation.

I am contemplating some continuation of the work, and may have occasion to speak somewhat more fully perhaps on that

topic, as connected with the claim the English make for Mr. Canning, that it was he who first called that part of our continent into independent existence. This is not true, though he had great merit in that question—more, I think, than any statesman of England or Europe, of that day. You may perhaps remember that I had some very confidential intercourse and correspondence with Mr. Canning, on this whole matter, which, in fact, laid the foundation of Mr. Monroe's famous Message in 1823.

Now, my dear sir, will you do me so great a favor as to drop me a few lines at your convenience, giving me the date of your first movement in the House of Representatives on this subject; I mean the one which distinctly looked to our recognition of the new States? I could trace it through back newspapers and other sources, for I well remember your early speeches on the subject, but a few lines from yourself would be more satisfactory to me, and the opportunity for this correspondence seems more favorable to me now, than after you get to Lexington, should you go there soon.

I pray you to excuse the trouble it may give you, and in the renewed feelings of yesterday, I remain yours very faithfully.

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO MR. CLAY.

HILLS OF SANTEE, March 26, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your friendly letter at this place, and thank you very kindly for the invitation it contains. It is not quite certain that I will be able to stay long enough in Kentucky to pay Mrs. Clay and yourself a visit; but if it should be so, you may rest assured that I shall not deny myself that gratification. My movements, after leaving Tennessee, are not definitively settled, and will have to be governed by circumstances, of which I am not now fully advised. It will not, however, in any event, be in my power to be with you before the beginning of May.

CARTER BEVERLY TO MR. CLAY.

FREDERICKSBURG, VA., April 2, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—On my arrival here yesterday I received your reply to my letter of February last from Middlesex, and feel glad to find that the communication I then made to you was well received, and kindly acknowledged.

It is assuredly a matter of high satisfaction to me to believe that I discharged the obligation, which feeling and duty dictated, in doing the justice I designed of effacing the indignity cast upon you by the unfortunate, and to me unhappy Fayetteville letter that was, and has been so much the subject of injury to you in the public mind. It is now, I trust, put entirely to rest in the minds of all honorable and candid men, of whatever political persuasion; for surely none can, or will henceforward presume to countenance the miserable slander that went forth in that communication to the public against you. The entire revocation of it given by me ought to overwhelm the author of it with utter shame and mortification; and if I had any right to say, were I in his situation, it would be my province, as it should be an incumbent duty on me, to make every atonement possible for such an unfounded, unprovoked attack upon your integrity and public fame.

Believing that your letter to me, and this my reply, are calculated to benefit you in the public mind, I have sent both to "The Richmond Whig" and "Independent" for publication.

I reiterate expressions of health and happiness to you, and remain yours, etc.

MR. CLAY TO REV. GILBERT H. SAYRES.

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received, and perused with great interest and attention, the letter which you did me the favor to address to me. I cordially thank you for the sentiments of esteem and confidence, an expression of which you have so kindly communicated. And I request your acceptance of my grateful acknowledgments for the lively interest you are pleased to take in my spiritual welfare. I hope that I shall profit by it. My mind has been often seriously impressed by grave considerations

of preparation for a future state ; but, like the crowd in the active bustle of life and its varied occupations, I have, perhaps, too much neglected so weighty a matter. My retirement will afford me leisure for a more serious, and, I hope, more practical contemplation of it.

Do me the favor to accept a copy of a little farewell speech I recently made in the Senate, accompanying this letter under another envelop, the interest of which, if it have any is to be found in attending circumstances.

LORD ASHBURTON TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am truly obliged to you for your very agreeable proposal. I should have taken the liberty myself of expressing a hope of being permitted to have a little conversation with you, and to renew our acquaintance, before you execute your purpose, which I, in common with your countrymen, so much regret, of retiring from this seat of Government. At a time of life which calls me more imperatively to give up all thoughts of public business, I have been tempted to make my appearance among you, to see if we can not contrive to live on more friendly terms, and to end bickerings between two countries which have, in truth, a sincere respect and affection for each other. Your good wishes for the success of this attempt are most acceptable to me. I only wish we had to treat together on what would soon cease to be material difficulties.

I should take the earliest time you propose for the pleasure of seeing you, if it were not that I have an appointment, this morning, at your Foreign Department, and do not know exactly how long it may last. To-morrow I am at your service, as soon as you please after ten o'clock; or I would call upon you, if it were more convenient to you.

WILLIAM C. PRESTON TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, June 39, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have dispatched your letter to General Thompson in the Mexican bag, and am glad to have even so small a commission to perform for you.

The British negotiation, I believe, goes on smoothly in regard to every point except the Maine boundary, which is complicated and embarrassed by the multitude of diplomatists congregated upon it. They have been here ten days, and have not yet got to a proposition for discussion. Our hope is that Abbott Lawrence and Governor Kent will get the ascendency, and carry on the matter. The other points—all of them, I think—are in a train of very favorable adjustment. In the mean time, our internal condition is worse and worse, our separation from the Executive wider and wider, and the general confusion worse confounded. The election of Mangum has brought on a war *ad intercessionem*, and it is now generally believed (on good ground, perhaps) that there is a negotiation on foot to bring in the Locofocos to the Cabinet. Marcy and Stevenson, it is said, are the only two that lend a favorable ear, and they would have a rough navigation through the Senate.

Mr. Rives' speech, yesterday, seemed to be a new latitude and departure. He abused your distribution policy, from beginning to end, in good set terms, and with much reason, I must say. He barely stopped short of denouncing it as unconstitutional *ab initio*, and has thus retraced his own steps.

My letter was broken off by the intelligence of poor Southard's death. His funeral took place yesterday. To-day Tyler sends in his veto of the tariff. This is downright madness. God preserve us, for our condition is most sad.

A LADY TO MR. CLAY.

New York, July 13, 1842.

To the Hon. Henry Clay,—The life of a political man, especially if he be pre-eminent among his cotemporaries, must, almost unavoidably, in an age of party strife, be one of great admixture of light and shade—of exulting joy and vexatious incidents—of injured feelings and of gratified pride. You, honored sir. have doubtless realized, more or less, the truth of these remarks in your own political career; a career too brilliant to escape envy—too patriotic to escape detraction—too fearless to escape opposition—too upright and honest to escape the contumely and bitter hate of those who love power more than justice, falsehood more than truth, and who would sacrifice to the Shibboleth of

party the best interests of their common country. This may pass as a shade, but is it not more than balanced by the halo of light which arises from the approbation of the wisest statesmen, the honest praise of all true patriots, and the admiration of all Americans, in every condition of life, who respect honesty of purpose and integrity of principle; who approve not ruinous experiments and insulting vetoes; and who regard the welfare of their country as paramount to all other considerations? Then comes the self-approving conscience. Yes, sir; yes, bright and satisfactory must be to you the reminiscences of your public life.

"All honor to the star of the West!" I trust it will not long be permitted to revolve in its distant orbit; I trust it will not soon be permitted to set; but may He who rules over all yet cause it to rise to our political zenith, and dispel the cloud of darkness which hangs over our once prosperous and happy, but now debased and injured country; and by its genial influence and mighty power restore it to its former glorious and proud condition.

Ladies, excluded by law from a voice in the counsels of the nation, have consequently no political influence. It is right that it should be so. Their duties lie in a different direction, and their happiness is drawn from a different source. But ladies are not excluded from feeling a deep interest in the welfare of their country, and no law, and no physical incapacity, imaginary or real, prevents them from rendering it service by calling upon Him who overrules its destinies, to look down upon it in this its hour of darkness with pity and compassion, and to deliver it from its evil state. This is a canvassing which surely can be disapproved by none, and which compromises neither sex nor station. On this great source, then, of power and mercy, do I rely; and daily do I offer up my supplications that God will open the eyes of this great nation of freemen to their true interests, and in good time cause them to place the Government in the hands of one to whom all anxious eyes and honest hearts are now turned —one who will not "follow in the steps of his illustrious predecessors;" but who shall rule in wisdom and in judgment, thereby restoring a distracted, prostrated country to sanity and health. Nor do my fervent petitions end here. After a long life of honor, fame, and usefulness shall have ended, may he—leaving his testimony in favor of the laws of God—be prepared by his grace to receive a crown of glory in the kingdom above!

You will doubtless be surprised, sir, that the trouble is given you of reading so long a letter, written by a lady, without any apparent motive; and really, having none of weight to offer, I feel that an apology is due. Trifles, in the hours of relaxation, sometimes afford a momentary satisfaction even to the great; and I have thought it might possibly tinge a passing moment with a ray of pleasure, to be assured that although your country-women can not serve you at the ballot-box, they can, and do, remember you at the altar.

Not having the honor of your acquaintance, instead of my own unimportant name, I beg leave to subscribe, with the greatest respect, that of A True Northern Friend.

MR. CLAY TO JACOB GIBSON.

Ashland, July 25, 1842.

Dear Sir,—I received your letter by my neighbor and friend Mr. Henry, and the good account he gives me of you induces me to transmit this answer.

My opinion on the subjects of slavery and Abolition was fully expressed in the Senate of the United States in February, 1839, and I have seen no reason since to change it. The speech which I delivered on that occasion may be found in a cheap, although imperfect collection of my speeches, recently published in Cincinnati, and to that I respectfully refer you. I regret that I have no copy of it by me, detached from the book, or I would send it to you.

I regard the existence of slavery as an evil. I regret it, and vish that there was not one slave in the United States.

But it is an evil which, while it affects the States only, or principally, where it abounds, each State within which it is situated is the exclusive judge of what is best to be done with it, and no other State has a right to interfere in it. Kentucky has no right to interfere with the slavery of Virginia, and Ohio has no right to interfere with it in either.

The jurisdiction of each State, where slavery exists, is among the reserved rights of the States. Congress possesses no power or authority to abolish it. Congress is invested with no power relating to it, except that which assumes its legitimate and continued existence. As to slavery, with the exception of the

conservative, representative, and taxing powers of Congress, the States are as much beyond the control of Congress as if they were independent nations, unconnected by any confederative constitution.

Although I believe slavery to be an evil, I regard it as a far less evil than would arise out of an immediate emancipation of the slaves of the United States, and their remaining here mixed up in our communities. In such a contingency, I believe that a bloody civil war would ensue, which would terminate only by the extinction of the black race.

It results, from these opinions which I entertain, that I consider the movements of the Abolitionists as altogether unauthorized and most unfortunate. I believe them productive of no good whatever, but attended with positive mischief to both the white and the black races. Of all the modes of separating the free blacks from the rest of the population of the United States, in my opinion, that of colonizing them in Africa is best. They are there in the abode of their ancestors, in a climate congenial to their constitutions, and with boundless territorial scope before them. For these and other reasons I think Africa far preferable to Oregon. An emigrant can be sent to Africa much cheaper than he can be to Oregon. He would then be not only in the home of his forefathers, but he might render great service to the natives of Africa, by introducing among them the arts of civilization and the religion of Christ. He would, moreover, be secure forever against the progress of the white man, which he would be far from being in Oregon.

I have regretted extremely the agitation of abolition in the free States. It has done no good, but harm. It will do no good. The great body of Abolitionists, like the great mass of every party, I have no doubt, is honest, sincere, and humane. Their leaders deceive them, and will endeavor to profit by them. They will seek to ride into public office, and to snatch public honor, upon the delusions which they propagate.

Abolition is a delusion which can not last. It is impossible it should endure. What is it? In pursuit of a principle—a great principle, if you please, it undertakes to tread down and trample in the dust all opposing principles, however sacred. It sets up the right of the people of one State to dictate to the people of other States. It arrays State against State. To make the black man free, it would virtually enslave the white man. With a

single idea some of its partisans rush on blindly, regardless of all consequences. They have dared even to threaten our glorious Union with dissolution. And suppose that unhallowed object achieved, would it emancipate the slaves? What is their next step? Is it to light up a war between the dissevered parts of the Union, and through blood, devastation, and conflagration, to march forward to emancipation? Are they at all sure that through such diabolical means they would be able finally to arrive at their object? No, my friend, let each State, and the people of each State, take care of their own interests, leaving other States, and the people of other States, to take care of theirs. We have enough to do in our respective and legitimate spheres of action—enough for the exercise of all the charities and sympathies of our nature.

But what is ultimately to become of slavery? asks the impatient Abolitionist. I can not tell him with any certainty. I have no doubt that the merciful Providence, which permitted its introduction into our country against the wishes of our ancestors, will, according to His own good pleasure and time, provide for its mitigation or termination.

In the mean time, we have had much to encourage us. Our Revolution led to the cessation of the African slave trade with the United States. It altogether ceased in 1808. Many States emancipated their slaves, not by the perilous process of an immediate liberation, but by the gradual and cautious proceeding of a slow and regulated emancipation, liberating the offspring at mature age, and leaving the parents in slavery; thus making preparation for the proper use of the liberty which their children were to enjoy. Every where a spirit of humanity was, more and more, infusing itself into the laws for the regulation of the treatment of slaves, until it was checked, in some places, by the agitation of Abolition. Some States, where the proportion of slaves was not very great in comparison with the whites, were beginning seriously to think about the practicability of a gradual emancipation within their limits, but they, too, have been checked by the intemperate zeal of Abolitionists. The feasibility of African colonization has been demonstrated, and the Society, with its limited means, has been quietly prosecuting its noble object.

By some of the means indicated, and others hidden from our view, by an all-wise Providence, we may cherish the hope that, if violent Abolitionists will cease stirring up strife and agitating

the passions, we may ultimately alleviate the evils, if not eradicate the existence of slavery in our land.

The generation that established our independence achieved a great and glorious work. Succeeding generations have accomplished much in advancing the growth, the power, and the greatness of this nation. We must leave some things to posterity, and among others the task of making adequate provision for the institution of Slavery.

In spite of slavery, our arms triumphed in the revolutionary struggle. And it is not too much to assert that, if Abolition had developed itself then, as it since has done, we should have failed. We should have been unable to form the Confederation, or subsequently to have adopted the present Constitution. In spite of slavery, we were successful in the second war with Great Britain. And in neither war, it is a gratifying historical fact, was the enemy able, by all his arts of seduction, to withdraw many slaves from their fidelity. In spite of slavery, we have moved onward in our march to power and greatness, augmenting our population, in a period only co-extensive with that of my own life, from two and a half to seventeen millions.

If our country is now writhing under the agony of extreme pecuniary distress and embarrassment, it has not been produced by slavery, at least not by black slavery. It has been brought about, I think, by the exercise of arbitrary power, but not that which the master exerts over his black slave.

Let us cease to agitate a topic which divides, distracts, and inflames the community ; which tends to array man against man, State against State, and section against section, and which threatens the greatest of all possible calamities which could befall this people, the dissolution of the union of these States. Let us, in place of discord and dissension, cultivate peace, harmony, and good will among the people and the States of this Confederacy. And let us recollect that we have other duties—far higher duties —to perform toward our country, toward posterity, and toward the world, than even the extirpation of African slavery, however much its original introduction among us is to be deplored.

I have thus, in answer to your inquiries, given you a full, candid, and unreserved exposition of my opinions and feelings, on the several subjects to which they relate. I hope they will be received and examined in the same friendly and frank spirit in which they are communicated.

JUDGE STORY TO MR. CLAY.

CAMBRIDGE, August 3, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I return you my sincere thanks for the copy of your Lexington dinner speech, which you have been so kind as to send me. I have read it with deep interest. It abounds with passages of great eloquence and statesmanlike views, and lofty principles. I am a Whig, and although I do not pretend to mingle in the common politics of the day, there are great measures upon which I have a decided opinion, and which I would not disguise, if I could. I am for a National Bank, a protective Tariff, a distribution law of the public lands, and a permanent Bankrupt law. All these measures are, in my judgment, indispensable to the public prosperity and peace of our country. In promoting these measures, I know no man who has labored more perseveringly, or with more zeal, ability, and honorable devotion, than yourself, at all times. I, as one, feel grateful to you for these labors; and I trust that my country will, for many years to come, possess the services of one whose eminent talents have so justly obtained the approval of the most enlightened minds in our public councils.

With my best personal wishes for the entire restoration of your health, and for many years of life, happy as well as useful, I beg you to believe me, with the highest respect, truly your most obliged friend and servant.

MR. CLAY TO JOHN S. LITTELL.

ASHLAND, August 17, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging letter with its inclosure. The arrangement, by which Mr. Epes Sargent has undertaken to compose a biography of me, was made by the young men of New York, prior to my learning, through Mr. Toland, your friendly wishes. It would have been, otherwise, very agreeable to me to have acceded to them.

Mr. Sargent's work, I presume, from what I have heard of its progress, is now nearly ready for the press. I wish he had a better subject for his pen; and I fear that it may be with him, as it has been with many of the artists, who have taken my portrait, that, owing to the defects of the original, nothing very

striking or interesting will be produced. I am sure that it will be no more his than it was their fault. I have perused your song with lively interest, and I cordially thank you for it. If my judgment is not biased by the flattering expressions and sentiments toward me, which it contains, I think it will be found to be extremely well adapted to the popular use for which it was intended.

Accept, my dear sir, my grateful acknowledgments for your friendly views and intentions toward me; and assurances of my esteem and regard.

AMOS P. GRANGER AND OTHERS TO MR. CLAY.

SYRACUSE, ONONDAGA COUNTY, NEW YORK,
September 10, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—It having recently become known among your friends in this town, that one of our citizens had received a request from you, to purchase and forward to you a quantity of Onondaga salt for use upon your farm at Ashland, a large meeting was immediately assembled at which it was resolved to ask your acceptance free of charge of a small invoice containing specimens of the various kinds of salt manufactured from our saline waters.

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to advise you of the shipment and to express to you in behalf of the meeting, the high estimation in which your character and public services are held.

We now take great pleasure in advising you of the shipment of twenty-three barrels to the care of January & Son, Maysville, Kentucky, with instructions to deliver to you free of charge. You will find specimens of common and solar salt, ground and refined dairy salt, which we venture to say will prove equal to the best quality of the imported article.

A very large number of your friends, as will be seen by the inclosed list of names, accompanying the invoice, have shared in the gratification of exhibiting this small, but sincere manifestation of the grateful sense which they entertain of your unwavering devotion to the great interests of American industry in all its branches.

Indeed, sir, those whose sentiments we are instructed to com-

municate, feel that your public services have laid them under a mightier debt of gratitude than they can express by this imperfect mark of their respect and esteem.

Connected as they are immediately or remotely with this important branch of domestic industry, they know that their own prosperity and happiness vitally depend upon the maintenance of the principles which have guided your public life—they gratefully remember that in the councils of the nation you have ever been the consistent friend and the eloquent advocate of American Labor. While others have sought the prostration of this and other great interests, now grown into national importance, you have always been found in opposition to the attempt. Your voice has ever been on the side of protection to the industry of your own country, against the blighting competition of foreign labor, controlled by foreign capital.

The Saline waters of Onondaga are believed to be inexhaustible, and sufficient capital has already been invested in the manufacture of salt from them to furnish half the quantity consumed in the United States. Under a system of just protection that capital was profitably employed, and thousands of laborers in this and other dependent branches of industry, received a comfortable subsistence. But under the late existing laws this important interest has just reached the lowest point of depression. Capital is without its return, and labor without its reward.

For the future, we hope much from the recent legislation of Congress in establishing a Tariff of duties upon foreign products, affording, as is believed, a fair measure of protection to domestic industry. But we can not forget that the war-cry of repeal has already been sounded.

At such a crisis, when that great system, of which the honor of being the founder, belongs to you, and which it was your glorious ambition to establish upon a sound and permanent basis, had been suddenly prostrated, and when dangers are again thickening around it, your eminent services in the public councils in behalf of that beneficent system can not but be justly appreciated. The eyes of the nation again turn to you.

In conclusion, sir, we beg leave to express the hope that your life may be long spared to your country.

We are your friends and obedient servants.

A. M. JANUARY TO MR. CLAY.

MAYSVILLE, September 22, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—We received for you this morning from Syracuse, New York, twenty-three barrels salt, and one small box, eighteen barrels of which, and the box, we have forwarded to-day in Jno. Nudegate's wagon, to be delivered at Ashland free of any charge. The carriage we pay here on return of the wagoner with a receipt of the delivery, the remaining five barrels we will forward by the first opportunity in same way.

Very respectfully your friends, etc.

MR. CLAY TO NICHOLAS O. BRITTON.

ASHLAND, September 23, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your obliging letter, and candidly thank you for the sentiments of regard and friendship toward me which it communicates; and I am extremely happy to receive from you such strong expressions of confidence in the Whig character of your State. The apathy which you nevertheless describe as the cause of the loss of your Legislature is greatly to be deplored. Besides depriving the country of the services of an able and upright Senator, it inspires our adversaries with fresh hopes, and will stimulate them to make invigorated exertions. It is to be regretted that the force of the truth, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, is not more generally felt.

With respect to my becoming a candidate for the high office to which you refer, I can add nothing to what I said in a public speech delivered at a Barbecue near this place, in June last. I have no wish to be forced upon the people; no desire that my name shall be used, unless I am fully persuaded that it is wanted by a majority of my countrymen. The prevalence of the apathy noticed by you makes it difficult to comprehend their real wishes; and there is certainly some danger that the road to victory may be lost by the Whigs from the defeats which they suffer. There is, however, ample time yet to form some satisfactory opinion as to the probable views of the majority of the people of the United States. If we have our troubles, our adversaries are not free from theirs.

The course of Mr. Tyler has been such as to produce disgust and dissatisfaction. But if he has been faithless, our friends in Congress have been true and faithful. Should they be abandoned because of his perfidy? Why, when their defeat is precisely what he desires? For there can be no longer a doubt that he is wielding all the power and influence of his office for the benefit of those who opposed his election, against those whose exertions and suffrages secured it.

I wish I could see any near prospect of the restoration of a sound currency. If Mr. Tyler adheres to the opinions on which he has acted, there is none. As to his Exchequer, it would make such a fearful addition to the already enormous power of the Executive, that I have never for a moment thought it ought to be adopted.

I suppose that the only alternative left to the country is to hobble on as well as it can with the State Banks, incompetent as I am obliged to regard them to supply a general currency of uniform value.

I am unable to say when I shall have the gratification of visiting your State (Virginia). I shall seize with eagerness the first occasion I can to enjoy it.

With great regard I am your friend and obedient servant.

LORD MORPETH TO HENRY CLAY.

New Orleans, October 16, 1842.

My dear Mr. Clay,—I propose at present to ascend the Mississippi by the "Henry Clay," which will probably deposit me at Louisville by the end of this month. I am not aware whether you will have reached your own shades by that period, or whether you would wish the retirement to which you have consigned yourself to be so soon broken in upon; but if it suited you to give me shelter for a day, I could not resist the temptation of diverging to Lexington, and in that case perhaps you will be good enough to address a line to me at Post-office, Louisville.

Whether it is my good fortune to meet you again or not, allow me to send you every good wish. Indeed, if I may say so without any inconvenient responsibility, I should be quite ready already to tender you my vote, if I only had one, for the next Presidential election.

Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours, etc.

AMBROSE SPENCER TO MR. CLAY.

LYONS, N. Y., October 28, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with deep mortification a letter addressed by my son, John C. Spencer, to certain persons in Rochester. Among the first ideas suggested by this letter, was this: Whether you would not naturally infer a coincidence on my part in the general sentiments of the letter? I feel impelled by self-respect, and the sincere regard I have for you personally, as well by my admiration of your brilliant and patriotic career through your lifetime, to remove from your mind any erroneous opinions on points affecting my own consistency and honor. I then assure you that my son has not spoken my opinions, in several, and, indeed, in the main points of his letter. I have held no counsel with him, nor even attempted to control him, but have left him free to act without any advice of mine. I heartily concur with my Whig brethren throughout the nation, that Mr. Tyler has acted most perfidiously toward those who have elevated him to power, and I feel for him that contempt which his duplicity and perfidy ought to inspire in honorable bosoms. Although I can not think my son would knowingly mistate facts, yet the advice he imputes to Mr. Tyler's first Cabinet is so extraordinary that it seems to me improbable, if not impossible.

When I last saw you in Washington, it was my wish to have a full conversation with you, but it was a period which forbade that gratification.

I have now disburdened my mind from what would have weighed upon it, and although I should object to any publicity being given to this letter through the press, I have no objection to your communicating its contents to discreet friends.

What will be the issue of our election, is impossible, in this great State, to be foretold with any certainty. Every thing depends on a full poll. If it be a full one, I think we shall succeed. I do not believe that Webster's speech, or Cushing's, or the letter, will have any materia. effect.

MR. CLAY TO JOHN S. LITTELL.

ASHLAND, November 11, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 28th ultimo, with the small volume accompanying it, containing your Biographical Notice of me. Amid preparations for my departure for Louisiana, where I propose passing at New Orleans a portion of the ensuing winter, I have not yet given it the deliberate perusal to which, I have no doubt, its merits entitle it, although I have looked a little into it with much satisfaction. But I can not delay conveying an expression of my grateful thanks for the interest which you take in me, and of which I have received many strong proofs. I appreciate these, the higher, because I am quite sure that they have been rendered from disinterested and patriotic motives. I pray you to accept my cordial acknowledgments for them all.

I am now in the hands of a Philadelphia artist, Mr. Neagle who has advanced so far in his portrait of me, and with so much success, that I feel authorized to say that I think he will make a faithful and spirited likeness of me.

Do me the favor to present my warm regards to our friend Mr. Toland.

MR. CLAY TO FRANCIS BROOKE.

NEW ORLEANS, December 30, 1842.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor by Mr. Porter, as I had received your previous letter, to which it refers. I should have before written to you, but that I really possessed nothing to communicate, and I wish now only to assure you of the receipt of your favors, and of my constant regard.

My voyage has been distinguished by enthusiastic demonstrations, wherever I have been. My effort has been rather to repress than to excite them. So far I have succeeded in avoiding my tour being given a political aspect. I expect to remain at the South until some time in February, I feel already benefited by the climate, although my health was not bad when I left home.

Your sources of political information are so much better than mine that I can add nothing to the stock which you possess. Every where I find great confidence prevailing among the Whigs

of their success in 1844. All the elections of the past fall which have been lost by them, have been lost not by the increased strength of their opponents, but by voters remaining absent from feelings of mortification and disgust, created by the acting President. Such is the view which I find every where taken. The problem to be solved is, whether the Whigs can be rallied in 1844. I hope and believe they will be.

I have seen a Mr. Carter and his lady here, near relations of Mrs. Brooke, and promised them to say so. They were well, and I believe doing well.

Present my best regards to Mrs. Brooke and your daughter.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMAN.

ASHLAND, April 13, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR—I received your favor, transmitting a letter from Mr. Gamage, which satisfactorily explains his motives in accepting a foreign appointment.

I saw that you had been pronouncing a discourse upon my poor life and poor services. I wish that you had had a better subject, but I have no doubt that you made the most of that which you selected. I presume I shall see the discourse, when published.

I lately addressed the people at home, and declared the principles which, in my opinion, ought to regulate the administration of the patronage of the general Government. I invite your attention to them, as published.

MR. BODISCO TO MR. CLAY.

GEORGETOWN, June 27, 1843.

MY DEAR MR. CLAY,—You were among the first who treated me with great kindness at my arrival at Washington. Since that time, our social intercourse has been a source of great gratification to me, and I would not pardon myself, if I were to leave this country without expressing to you all my friendly feelings. Mrs. Clay must not be so jealous, if I add how much Mrs. Bodisco is fond of you, and how well we agree in our attachment to you. Our departure for Europe has been delayed by

the nomination of a first secretary coming from Persia, and whom I am to present to the Secretary of State, as Chargé d'Affaires, during my temporary absence. I expect Count Zabello by the next steamer, and intend to start immediately after his arrival, leaving here, as a pledge of our return, two fine boys, and two nephews, under the care of Mrs. B.'s parents. We hope that all will turn out well, and in accordance with our wishes.

The diplomatic corps has been rather amused by all the great discoveries lately made about Tariff treaties, and by the attempt to make out of Mr. Rumford a very smart man. The best treaty he ever negotiated, was his marriage with one of Astor's daughters. Bremen is one of the two great outlets of your important and growing trade with the German league. To disturb that trade for the sake of the few ships she employs, would be a hazardous experiment. If your Government could succeed by reciprocity stipulations, to have your grain and provisions admitted in England, we in Europe would soon enough outbid you in cheapness, and furnish all that would be required, corn not excepted, at forty-eight hours' notice. I have read with great attention, Mr. Clayton's able article in "The Philadelphia Inquirer." It put me in mind of the opinion on this subject, by one of the great men of my country. He used to say that the best commercial treaty is not worth a system of permanent and moderate protective duties at home, and full liberty for the trading community to provide herself with the cheapest markets.

Flattering myself to leave here some good friends, and having a real interest in the prosperity of the young Giant, I'll follow with undiminished solicitude, the coming events, with the hope that the contest will be settled according to our wishes.

Pray remember me to all my Kentucky friends, with Crittenden at their head, and be persuaded of Mrs. Bodisco's and my best wishes, for you and Mrs. Clay's happiness.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY T. LLOYD.

ASHLAND, August 29, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your friendly letter, and the box to which it refers, containing half a dozen bottles of American Cologne water, all in good order, and I tender you my warm thanks for the acceptable present, and the friendly sentiments

toward me, which induced you to offer it. Mrs. Clay, who is a better judge of its quality than I am, pronounces it equal to the best German or French Cologne Water, and my opinion coincides with her's.

It was long ago remarked that any man who made a blade of grass grow, where one did not before, was a public benefactor. That citizen is an equal benefactor, by whose skill and industry an article of consumption is produced at home, and the necessity of sending abroad the money to purchase it, is avoided. To ensure the prosperity of our country, and to escape those afflicting revulsions, which are so ruinous, we must learn and practice the invaluable truth, to sell as much, and buy as little as possible, abroad. Every prudent planter and farmer acts on that principle, and what is wise in individuals, is wise in nations. I congratulate you on the perfection to which you have brought the manufacture of a very agreeable article, in extensive use, and tender you cordial wishes for your success, prosperity, and happiness.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, September 2, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—Allow me to suggest a subject for one of your Tracts which, treated in your popular and condensed way, I think would be attended with great and good effect, I mean Abolition.

It is manifest that the ultras of that party are extremely mischievous, and are hurrying on the country to fearful consequences. They are not to be conciliated by the Whigs. Engrossed with a single idea, they care for nothing else. They would see the administration of the Government precipitate the nation into absolute ruin before they would lend a helping hand to arrest its career. They treat worse and denounce most those who treat them best, who so far agree with them as to admit slavery to be an evil. Witness their conduct toward Mr. Briggs and Mr. Adams, in Massachusetts, and toward me.

I will give you an outline of the manner in which I would handle it. Show the origin of slavery. Trace its introduction to the British Government. Show how it is disposed of by the Federal Constitution. That it is left exclusively to the States, except in regard to fugitives, direct taxes and representation. Show that the agitation of the question in the free States, will

first destroy all harmony, and finally lead to disunion. That the consequences of disunion—perpetual war—the extinction of the African race—ultimate military despotism.

But the great aim and object of your Tract should be to arouse the laboring classes in the free States against Abolition. Depict the consequences to them of immediate abolition. The slaves being free, would be dispersed throughout the Union; they would enter into competition with the free laborer; with the American, the Irish, the German; reduce his wages; be confounded with him, and affect his moral and social standing. And as the ultras go for both abolition and amalgamation, show that their object is to unite, in marriage, the laboring white man, and the laboring black man, and to reduce the white laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of the black man.

I would show their opposition to colonization. Show its humane, religious and patriotic aim. That they are to separate those whom God has separated. Why do the Abolitionists oppose colonization? To keep and amalgamate together the two races, in violation of God's will, and to keep the blacks here. that they may interfere with, degrade, and debase the laboring whites. Show that the British nation is co-operating with the Abolitionists, for the purpose of dissolving the Union, the World's Convention, etc.

You can make a powerful article that will be felt in every extremity of the Union.

I am perfectly satisfied it will do great good.

Let me hear from you on this subject.

GENERAL BERTRAND TO MR. CLAY.

A Lexington, le 6 Octobre, au soir, 1843.

Mon cher Monsieur,—Etant venu à Lexington dans le but spécial de vous rendre mes devoirs, j'accepte avec empressement l'invitation que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'addresser pour demain, vous priant d'agréer mes remercîmens et les sentimens de ma haute considération.

PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

New York, October 11, 1843.

My dear Sir,—I received, yesterday, your favor of the 3d instant, and find it to be precisely what I knew it ought to be, nd was sure it would be.

The following facts, which have been confidentially communicated to me by his confidential friend, may be relied on, viz:

That Mr. Webster, on leaving here two days ago, assured this friend, that he should return to Massachusetts with a determination to re-unite himself to the Whig party, and give it his best support. That, although there were some things in your course which he did not entirely approve, yet that he had a high respect for you, and should give you his vote and support for the Presidency. That, some few weeks since (probably when on his way to Rochester), he wrote a long letter to President Tyler, expostulating with him in the freest and most severe terms, upon the wickedness and folly of his late official course, and advising him to stop at once his wild career, or he would d——n himself and ruin his country; asking no reply to his letter, but requesting that it might be carefully put on file, as a subject of future reference and reflection. That, in his recent visit to Washington, he dined twice with the President—once alone and in private when their whole political creed was canvassed and reviewed—and once in company with the whole Cabinet, when not a word was said on politics—and that Webster had a confidential interview with Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, in which their political views in regard both to the present and the future, were found on comparison to be perfectly harmonious, and moreover, that they were thoroughly Whig. * * * *

On the whole our political prospects are uncommonly bright and promising. The cheering and unexpected result of the elections in Maryland and Georgia, seems to have inspired our friends with new ardor and energy; and we anticipate with a confidence, that we have never before felt, on your triumphant election a year from this time.

PETER B. PORTER TO MR. CLAY.

New York, October 13, 1843.

Dear Sir,—As it seems to have been generally known among Mr. Webster's friends here, that I had, at the pressing solicitation of one of them, although under the declared conviction that it could produce no useful result, written to you on the subject of a reconciliation, and future concert of action with the Webster party, they were extremely anxious to know what would be your reply; and, having thus committed myself by writing at all, it became necessary that I should advise them of your answer, which I have accordingly done, by reading to two or three of them, as also to Messrs. Lawrence, Webb, and one or two other Whig friends, confidentially, the following paragraphs from your letter, as comprising the whole it contained on that subject:

"I approve in the main of the answer you gave to Mr. Webster's friend. I have done him (Mr. W.) no wrong, and have therefore no reconciliation to seek. His course since Mr. Tyler's accession, but especially since the extra session, has deeply surprised me. I told him the last day of that session, 'If you mean to remain in Mr. Tyler's Cabinet, to finish some business not yet completed (alluding to the M'Leod affair), the public will justify you; but if you mean to remain there permanently, it will condemn you.'

"I defended him when his nomination for Secretary of State was before the Senate, and was very nigh getting into a personal affair with Mr. Cuthbert about it.

"Should I be a candidate for the Presidency, I shall be glad to receive his support, or that of any other American citizen; but I can enter into no arrangements, make no promises, offer no pledges to obtain it. It is impossible that I can be a party to any arrangement by which Mr. Webster, or any body else, is to be run as the candidate for Vice-President with me. I have declined all interference in behalf of Davis, Sergeant, or Clayton, or any body else, and must continue to do so. My duty is to remain perfectly passive until the nomination is made, and after that, to give to the nomination, of whoever may be proposed, such support as I can consistently with honor, delicacy, and propriety."

Our friends were delighted with this reply, and even the Webster men were obliged to acknowledge that it was perfectly correct and proper.

JOHN DAVIS TO MR. CLAY.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 14, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you upon the reviving sense and spirit of the country. How deeply must Mr. Calhoun feel the results of the late elections in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia? How much astonished must he be to see the doctrines of a protective Tariff and distribution of the proceeds of the public lands prevail against his theory of politics and his scheme of nullification?

The public mind has evidently been gaining strength and courage for some months, and the fact that it has settled down upon its candidate for the Presidency has aided in this desirable event. There seems here, in the real Whig party, to be but one sentiment on that head, and it looks to your name as the rallying word. We have difficulties and embarrassments to contend with. The Abolitionists, who appear to be disinclined to all connection with the Whigs, have strength enough, which they take from us, to put us in some peril. We can, however, do nothing with them, except to let them alone, which is the wisest course. You are, however, the object at which they aim most of their shafts, and whom the leading members of the party are most desirous of defeating. We take pains to circulate your life and speeches, published by Greeley, as the best method of placing your character fairly before the public, and of refuting the calumnies to which the press gives birth. Many Abolitionists, though by no means all, are conscientious men, who view slavery as a sin, and reason to the consequences which follow. With them it constitutes the Alpha and Omega of politics and morals, and it is in vain to discuss the topic with such. * * * *

Corruption and Tyler, and Tyler and corruption, will stick together as long as Catiline and treason. The name of Tyler will stink in the nostrils of the people; for the history of our Government affords no such palpable example of the prostitution of executive patronage to the wicked purposes of bribery. The Locos of this State are equally criminal, and it will be hard for them to wipe off the stain.

Colonel Johnson has been here, and called to see me. What he hopes for, or what he anticipates, is difficult to say, though he seems in good spirits. He wears his red jacket, and the papers say, and the people think, cares nothing about dress.

Without detaining you with a long, unprofitable letter, I can not close without saying that the Whigs here have a strong feeling that you will succeed in 1844. This of itself will do much to accomplish so desirable a result. I should be much gratified to hear from you. I send without paying postage, as I see you use your frank.

J. Q. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS, October 17, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your very kind and friendly invitation, for which and for the concurring invitation of your lady to Mrs. Adams and to me, in her name and my own, I can not tender to you our sense of obligation in words adequate to the feelings by which they are inspired. Nothing could give us more pleasure than to accept your offered hospitality and to visit you at your residence at Ashland.

But the state of Mrs. Adam's health will not admit of her accompanying me on this expedition; and my own age and infirmities have admonished me that the engagement which I have contracted, is at least, as much as I can expect to perform with impunity. I have found it necessary, therefore, to limit the bounds of my journey within the State of Ohio, and to restrain all my wishes and temptations to extend my journey further. The visit to Kentucky, and particularly to yourself, will remain as a hope that I may indulge hereafter, while the kindness of your invitation will remain upon my memory with the most fervent good wishes for your health and happiness.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, November 9, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—Do not imagine that I am forgetful of you, or insensible to your exertions for the public, and for me. I have been absent from home, my correspondence is excessively oppressive, and not until this afternoon have I been able to read your life of me.* In the main, its facts are correct. It is a good outline, well-adapted to its purpose. There are a few in-

* One of the Junius Tracts.

accuracies, and too much commendation and panegyric. I do not know that it is worth while to point out the errors. I would do it if I could write on the margin.

You are unjust toward the Compromise Act. It saved our manufactures, gave them stability, and they did well, until the disorders in the currency, and consequent revulsions, affected them, and every thing, and every body else. Up to 1840, it worked well, and afforded a sufficient measure of protection. It was the duty of a Van Buren Congress to provide for the period beyond that, but it would not perform its duty.

MR. CLAY TO JOHN S. LITTELL.

ASHLAND, November 13, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor with its several inclosures, and thank you for the address, etc., of the Clay Club of Germantown. It is a fair and very able exposition of Whig principles; and I tender you cordial congratulations on the encouraging prospect of their establishment. And I beg you to accept my cordial thanks for the songs, which appear to be well calculated to excite and stimulate that spirit, which is all that is needed to insure a great and glorious triumph. To the principles announced in the declaration and resolutions, every Whig can subscribe.

I congratulate you on the auspicious prospects of our good cause.

CHAPTER XII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1844, '45, '46 AND '47.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

New Orleans, January 22, 1844.

My dear Son,—I received your two letters of the 4th and 9th inst., but I have received none from Thomas. Henry will write you about his horse. I should be glad if you could make some equitable arrangement with Bradley, to take the Woodpecker filly.

I send you inclosed a power of attorney from Henry, to sign one, and indorse another note for $5,000, which I left with you to be discounted at the Northern Bank, along with two others that I also left. I wish you to attend to that business particularly; I think the 20th February is the time. I also inclose the first number of a draft, for the sum of $——, to pay the discount on the four notes. The second I will send viâ Washington city.

It will be time, on my return home, to decide on your proposal about water rotting hemp. In the mean time, I expect Mr. Florea to put in hemp all the hemp ground I have, including the new ground and piece at Mansfield.

Tell Thomas that I think he had better make a contract with Mr. —— (I forget his name), of Clarke, for his crops of hemp offered us, at the market price between the time of delivery and the 1st of September, paying interest upon every ten tons, from time to time, as delivered. I think the probability is that hemp will fall below rather than rise above the price of $4, at which you state it now to be.

My health has been generally good, but I am suffering just now with cold and its effects. I shall leave here about the 20th of next month. Any letters for me after the 10th, had better

be addressed to me at Augusta, Georgia, viâ Washington, until the 10th March; after that to Charleston, until the 25th March; after that to Raleigh, until the 10th April; and after that to Washington.

Poor Judge Porter is dead, and I regret that uncertainty should exist about his successor. A rumor has got into circulation, I believe without foundation, that he has left me a legacy.

My love tc your mamma, Susan, John, and Henry.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE.

Macon, March 17, 1844.

My dear Sir,—I received, at this place, your obliging letter of the 24th ultimo, and the one inclosed from the National Clay Club, to which I now transmit herein an answer. I am greatly mortified that an answer was not received from me to the communication from Mr. Gibbons, during last autumn. I am under a strong impression that I did transmit a reply to it. I hope he and the Club will be perfectly assured that I intended neither any disrespect or neglect.

I know, my dear sir, full well, the disinterested motives which prompt you and your associates in the great contest now in progress. The country ought to be grateful for your services, and it is with unfeigned pleasure that I express my personal gratitude. Allow me to suggest, that while I have no objection that the inclosed letter should be read at the Club, I do not perceive any necessity for its publication.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE AND OTHERS.

Macon, March 17, 1844.

Gentlemen,—I have received, at this place, the letter which you addressed to me upon the 24th ultimo, and I perused it attentively, with some feelings of concern and regret.

I received the letter which was addressed to me last autumn by the National Clay Club, and I have a strong conviction, although I would not assert positively, that I replied to it, prior to my departure from home. I know it was my intention to an-

swer it, and to answer every communication which I received. If I did not do so, it was an unintentional omission. I must, nevertheless, say, that I have need of all the indulgence of my friends and correspondents. My correspondence is very extensive, and is becoming more and more so. It occupies, when I am at home, my time constantly. Many of the Clubs which have done me the honor to assume my name, have put themselves in correspondence with me, and some of them have even complimented me by making me an honorary member of their associations. You can judge from this how numerous the letters must be that I have to transmit.

I hope your failure to receive my reply to your letter, last autumn, was unattended with any disadvantage. On the subject of the Tariff, of which your communication treated, I have so frequently, so fully, and so clearly expressed myself, that I am sure I could not add another new word or new idea.

I assure you that I entertain a very high opinion of the motives, objects, and services of the National Clay Club. Many of the members are my personal, and all of them my political friends. It would be impossible for me to regard them with any other feelings than those of gratitude. It is quite possible that I may have received information that some of the operations of the Club were not as useful and beneficial as could be wished, although I have no distinct recollection of the tenor of such information. If I ever did receive any such, it made no unfavorable impression, and created no prejudice on my mind against the Club. I know, in the zeal and ardor of friends, that they sometimes erroneously estimate the value and importance of their respective services, and I am always ready to make allowances accordingly. But I deeply regret the existence of the jealousies and misconceptions among those between whom nothing but harmony and cordial co-operation should prevail. And if, as is to be inferred from your letter, there are any differences among my Philadelphia friends, I conjure you all to hasten to accommodate them, and to unite, in a spirit of mutual concession and conciliation, as a band of brothers in the great struggle which is before us. Most happily, concord, harmony, and union, characterize the votaries of our cause, generally, throughout the Union, and I should be greatly disappointed and mortified if Philadelphia formed an exception.

I am happy to inform you that the information which I have

received, during the progress of my journey, is of the most cheering and satisfactory kind, every where. Even in Alabama, of which I had entertained no hopes when I left home, our friends will make a great effort, and they confidently anticipate a victory.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

RALEIGH, April 14, 1844.

DEAR JAMES,—I arrived here on the 12th, very much fatigued, but my general health is pretty good.

I have a note in the Branch Bank for fifteen hundred dollars, due about the 1st of next month. Inclosed I send you a check for eighteen hundred dollars, fifteen hundred of which I wish applied to the payment of that note, and the balance to the payment of my interest due to the University.

I expect to reach Washington toward the last of this month, and to remain there until the 4th or 5th of May, and shall be glad to hear from you at that place.

Tell Thomas that there is a fair prospect of selling the bagging and rope at Savannah and Charleston, and that I adhere to the opinion that it is best to send them there after I get home.

Give my love to your mamma, and tell her I will write her before I leave this place. Remember me also to Susan.

J. SLOANE TO MR. CLAY.

COLUMBUS, May 9, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to congratulate you on the happy termination of the meeting at Baltimore, as well as the wholesome condition of our affairs in all parts of the Union. I have for some time been looking for our opponents to fall back on the slander of bargain and sale, etc. Foiled, as they are, in every thing in the way of principles and measures, it was natural that they should place their reliance on that which required nothing but assertion.

Stale and discredited as that story is, I had rather hoped that our friends would have let them have the entire field to themselves, and in no case agree to assume the defensive. But the

course of some of the Whigs in Congress has, perhaps, made it necessary to meet the enemy again on the same old field.

In Ohio, I think this will be their only reliance, but I can see nothing indicating the least success from its use.

Were I referred to, by some one else, I could give information in the case perhaps more direct than any other person. It is this: About the time mentioned by Buchanan, or, perhaps, some earlier, I met with General Houston at Mr. Fletcher's boarding-house, and was accosted by him on the subject of the vote of Ohio. I told him there had been no general consultation among the members. He then observed, "What a most splendid Administration it would make, with 'Old Hickory' for President, and Mr. Clay Secretary of State." To this I assented. He then went on to address himself more earnestly to me, and said: "I feel a strong hope you will all vote for Hickory, and in that event, you know your man can get any thing he may want." To all this I replied, in substance, that the vote of the Ohio delegation, when given, I had no doubt would be satisfactory to the citizens of the State.

This conversation was in my full recollection at the time I made my statement, which was appended to your address, and an allusion of a general nature was made to it. Why I did not specify the facts as they took place, was, my knowledge of the relation which existed between Jackson and Houston, and the great probability that the latter would not dare to do other than deny the whole. This, in the then temper of the public mind, I thought might do more harm than good. What I may ultimately do in that behalf, will depend on after developments.

THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN TO MR. CLAY.

New York, May 11, 1844.

My dear Sir,—I have been rather impatiently waiting for my lame arm to write a few lines to my honored friend, that I might express to you the heartfelt gratification that I feel at the recent association of my humble name with yours, a distinction as honorable as it has been to me surprising. And should the results of the fall elections confirm the nomination, of which there now seems very strong indications, it will, I assure you,

be among my richest political privileges to contribute any mite of influence in my power to render prosperous and lasting in benefits the Administration of a patriot, whose elevation I have long desired. Our names have been brought together, here, by the voice of our fellow men. My prayer for you and my own soul shall be fervent, that, through the rich grace of our Saviour, they may be found written in the Book of Life of the Lamb that was slain for our sins.

My good wife, who has never ceased to cherish the hope of your eventual elevation to the Chief Magistracy, unites with me in kindest respects to Mrs. Clay and yourself.

P. S.—My hand is still lame, and I can write only in irregular characters.

J. SLOANE TO MR. CLAY.

Wooster, June 20, 1844.

My dear Sir,—Your favor of the 14th instant, directed to me at Columbus, reached me at this place yesterday. Your first on the same subject was also duly received here. On the first Monday of next month it is my purpose to be at Cincinnati; and I had thought of delaying my statement until then, but since the receipt of your last, I have determined to make it to-morrow. I see by the newspapers from various parts that the subject is being agitated; and, in Ohio, the Locofoco candidate for Governor is hurling it from the stump. Why Governor Letcher should feel any delicacy about making a statement, out of any amity between him and Buchanan, I am at a loss to imagine. Mr. Buchanan, by his equivocation and want of directness in his answer to Jackson's appeal, put himself beyond all claim upon the forbearance of any one. The manner in which he dragged Mr. Markley into the affair, and the cautious manner in which he spoke of Jackson, left it beyond dispute that it was his object that his statement should not be so understood as to do justice between the parties.

When my statement reaches you, and you have that of Governor Letcher, you can determine how you will dispose of them. I always intended to make the facts known to you, if for no

other purpose than that it might go into the history of the case after we have gone hence.

My opinion of the necessity of the publication I will transmit to you from Cincinnati.

MR. SLOANE'S STATEMENT.

Wooster, June 20, 1844.

In December, 1824, about the time that the choice of President by the House of Representatives was beginning to attract attention at Washington, I happened in company with General Houston, then a member of Congress from Tennessee, when the subject of that election was introduced by him. Although the subject of the Presidential election, from the time of the commencement of the canvass before the people, had been fully discussed between us, this was the first time, after the people had failed to elect, that we had conversed in relation to it. General Houston commenced by suggesting that he supposed the Ohio delegation were all going to vote for General Jackson. To this I answered that I could not undertake to speak for them; for, so far as I knew, no meeting or consultation had taken place among them. The manner of General Houston was anxious, and evinced much solicitude; and at this point of the conversation he exclaimed, "What a splendid Administration it would make, with Old Hickory President, and Mr. Clay Secretary of State." Having often before expressed to General Houston my opinion of the several candidates, I did not, at that time, think proper to repeat it: contenting myself with an implied acquiescence in the correctness of his declaration.

The conversation was continued for a considerable time, and for the most part had relation to Western interests as connected with the Presidency, and was concluded by General Houston observing, "Well, I hope you from Ohio will aid us in electing General Jackson, and then your man (meaning Mr. Clay) can have any thing he pleases."

These expressions of General Houston made a strong impression on my mind at the time, and from the relations known to subsist between him and General Jackson, I had not then, nor at any time since, a doubt but that they embodied the feelings of that personage; and that it was the object of both that Mr. Clay and his friends should so understand it. And I have ever thought that the slanderous charge of "bargain, corruption, and

intrigue," subsequently preferred by General Jackson against Mr Clay and his friends, had its origin in the utter neglect with which every advance made to them by the friends of General Jackson was treated.

In a letter written by me, dated at Wooster, May 9th, 1827, and appended to Mr. Clay's address to the public of that year, I referred to "the importunity of some of General Jackson's friends," as indicative of a disposition to enter into a bargain. In that remark I had in my mind, among other things, those observations of General Houston. Should it now be asked why I did not then divulge the whole, my answer is, that although I held myself at all times ready to do so, if called upon, I did not then consider it necessary. The only question, then, before the public, was the charge that Mr. Clay's friends had made propositions to Jackson for a bargain. It was to repel that charge that my letter above-mentioned was written; and I chose to confine my statements to the nature of the issue. In attempting to sustain that issue, General Jackson most signally failed, being flatly contradicted by his only witness.

MR. CLAY TO STEPHEN F. MILLER.

ASHLAND, July 1, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received and thank you for your friendly letter, and the copy of "The Monitor." You have justly conceived my meaning, when I referred, in my Texas letter, to a considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy. And you might have strengthened your construction of the paragraph by reference to the fact that, at the date of my letter, the States of Ohio, Vermont and Massachusetts had, almost unanimously, declared against annexation; the Legislature of Georgia had declined to recommend it, and other States were believed to be adverse to the measure. As to the idea of my courting the Abolitionists it is perfectly absurd. No man in the United States has been half so much abused by them as I have been.

I consider the Union a great political partnership; and that new members ought not to be admitted into the concern at the imminent hazard of its dissolution. Personally I could have no objection to the annexation of Texas; but I certainly would be unwilling to see the existing Union dissolved or seriously jeop-

arded for the sake of acquiring Texas. If any one desires to know the leading and paramount object of my public life, the preservation of this Union will furnish him the key.

From developments now being made in South Carolina, it is perfectly manifest that a party exists in that State seeking a dissolution of the Union, and for that purpose employing the pretext of the rejection of Mr. Tyler's abominable treaty. South Carolina being surrounded by slave States, would, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, suffer only comparative evils, but it is otherwise with Kentucky; she has the boundary of the Ohio extending four hundred miles on three free States. What would her condition be in the event of the greatest calamity that could befall this nation?

In Kentucky the Texas question will do the Whig cause no prejudice. I am glad to perceive, in the proceedings of the Clay Club at Tuscaloosa, a similar belief expressed as to Alabama. It was a bubble blown up by Mr. Tyler in the most exceptionable manner, for sinister purposes, and its bursting has injured no body but Mr. Van Buren.

Retaining an agreeable recollection of the pleasure which I derived from forming your acquaintance last Spring, I remain your friend and obedient servant.

R. P. LETCHER TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, July 6, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I send you, inclosed, a short love-letter, which I received a day or two ago from my old friend Buck. He writes like a man, as you will see, who feels the force of his subject. You can retain it until I see you.

The more I have thought about your making a publication in regard to that miserable old calumny, the less inclined I am to think favorably of it. Every thing appears to be progressing so smoothly for the Whig cause, "better let it be."

MR. BUCHANAN TO R. P. LETCHER.

LANCASTER, June 27, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this moment received your very kind letter and hasten to give it an answer. I can not perceive what

good purpose it would subserve Mr. Clay to publish the private and unreserved conversation to which you refer. I was then his ardent friend and admirer; and much of this ancient feeling still survives, notwithstanding our political differences since. I did him ample justice, but no more than justice, both in my speech on Chilton's resolutions and in my letter in answer to General Jackson.

I have not myself any very distinct recollection of what transpired in your room nearly twenty years ago; but doubtless I expressed a strong wish to himself, as I had done a hundred times to others, that he might vote for General Jackson; and if he desired it, become his Secretary of State. Had he voted for the General, in case of his election, I should most certainly have exercised any influence I might have possessed to accomplish this result; and this I should have done from the most disinterested, friendly and patriotic motives.

This conversation of mine, whatever it may have been, can never be brought home to General Jackson. I never had but one conversation with him on the subject of the then pending election, and that upon the street, and the whole of it, *verbatim et literatim*, when comparatively fresh upon my memory, was given to the public in my letter of August, 1827. The publication, then, of this private conversation could serve no other purpose than to embarrass me and force me prominently into the pending contest—which I desire to avoid.

You are certainly correct in your recollection. "You told me explicitly that you did not feel at liberty to give the conversation alluded to, and would not do so, under any circumstances without my express permission." In this you acted, as you have ever done, like a man of honor and principle.

J. C. WRIGHT TO MR. CLAY.

CINCINNATI, September 5, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—On the other leaf you will find the statement of my conversation with Louis M'Lane, which I promised you. My apology for not preparing it sooner is that my engagements scarcely leave me a moment of leisure.

I have your letter on the subject of the Blue Lick lie, and you will have seen in "The Gazette" the use made of it. I should

certainly with you have felt no little mortification, had I thought it necessary to call upon you to refute so improbable a calumny. But the charge was reiterated upon the face of my denial, and the proof in writing said to exist under these circumstances, I thought it proper that you see the charge and have an opportunity to say if any circumstance had taken place out of which to fabricate the story. I know well, sir, that even the father of lies himself could hardly keep pace with the supporters of Polk, in inventing and giving circulation to lies, and I do not often heed them.

Upon the whole our prospects are as favorable as when I had the pleasure of meeting you. Our opponents are very active and unscrupulous in the use of the means they employ. The small majority in Kentucky has been rung in all its changes and has passed away. Your late letter on the Texas question has given the rascals a new impulse. Liberty-men, Locofocos, and timid Whigs, use the letter as a bug-a-boo to the anti-annexation. We defend it, as in accordance with what you before said, and I think it will leave little injurious impression upon the minds of our friends. But the public mind is excited—men are confederated together in appeals to the very worst passions of our nature, and the public mind is feverish, and unstable. This will not be more than a nine day's topic of vituperation. With the old issues we are safe, depend upon it. All we want is to bring the voters out.

J. C. WRIGHT TO MR. CLAY.

Cincinnati, September 5, 1844.

Dear Sir,—According to my promise, I give below a statement of the conversation between Mr. Louis McLane and myself, relative to the election of Mr. Adams by the House of Rep resentatives in 1825. We were both members of the House, and of the committee to report rules for the government of the House in conducting the election. He was known to be in favor of Mr. Crawford, and I was in favor of Mr. Adams. On the morning of the election, he and I walked together from the Committee room to the House, and were conversing about the prospects of the candidates. At the door we stopped, and he asked if we could elect Mr. Adams? I answered that we could elect him, as

I thought, on the first ballot. I trust in God you will succeed, said he, and on the first ballot, and save the country from the curse of Jacksonism. You know I must vote for Crawford on the first ballot, as my State voted for him, but we all know he can not be elected, and I sincerely hope you will elect Mr. Adams. We separated, and took our seats. In a short time the vote was taken, and Mr. Adams got the votes of thirteen States, and was declared duly elected.

This is the substance of the conversation, if not the very words. Mr. McLane spoke openly, with energy, and I thought, sincerely.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE.

ASHLAND, September 19, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your obliging letter of the 11th inst., and for its interesting contents. It demonstrates very great and patriotic activity on the part of the Commercial Committee, and I hope that the success of its labors may correspond with its good intentions. We feel the greatest anxiety about the issue of your Governor's election, and our intelligence concerning it is somewhat conflicting.

You are aware that there is a Whig Committee at Washington, consisting of the Hon. Messrs. Garrett Davis and Willis Green, the object of which is to distribute documents, of which a great many have been sent to Pennsylvania. I understand the funds of the Committee are getting low, and if you should have any surplus in your exchequer, they will be very glad to receive some assistance.

I should be very happy should it be in my power to serve your house with the sugar planters of Louisiana, and I authorize you at any time to refer them to my name.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, October 26, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 18th instant, communicating your desire to prepare and compose a work, to be entitled, "The Life and Times of Henry Clay," and you invite an expression of my opinion of such an undertaking, and

the contribution of any materials toward it in my possession. Such a work, truly and faithfully written, might be made very interesting. But every thing will depend upon its execution. I believe you possess sufficient ability to perform the task, if you have sufficient time and sufficient materials. However, this is a moment of too great interest and excitement either to decide definitely upon the propriety of such a work, or for me to make now any contributions toward its composition. I hope we shall both live some years yet, and have many opportunities of seeing and conferring with each other upon the subject, after which we can come to a satisfactory conclusion.

A few weeks more will decide the arduous contest in which we have been engaged, and if I am to credit the confident assurances which I receive from all quarters, there is no doubt of a triumphant result.

My health is excellent, although I write by the hand of an amanuensis.

THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, November 9, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I address you this morning with very different feelings from my expectations a few weeks ago. The alliance of the foreign vote, and that most impracticable of all organizations, the Abolitionists, have defeated the strongest national vote ever given to a Presidential candidate. The Whigs in this city and State have struggled most nobly. All classes of American citizens have ardently, cordially, and with the freest sacrifices, contended for your just claims to patriotic confidence, and could you this morning behold the depression of spirits and sinking of hearts that pervade the community, I am sure that you would feel, "Well, in very truth, my defeat has been the occasion of a more precious tribute and vindication than even the majority of numbers."

The Abolitionists were inimicably obstinate, and seemed resolved to distinguish their importance, right or wrong. The combination of adverse circumstances has often struck me in the progress of the canvass. At the South, I was denounced as an Abolitionist, rank and uncompromising. Here, the Abolitionists have been rancorous in their hostility. A short time since,

William Jay (of illustrious name) assailed me in his Anti-Slavery prints, by a harsh, unchristian, and intolerant article, in the form of a letter addressed to me, but sent to the winds. Its object was, no doubt, to drive the party together, and it had, I suppose, some influence that way, although it was too bitter and irrational to accomplish much. And then the foreign vote was tremendous. More than three thousand, it is confidently said, have been naturalized in this city, alone, since the first of October. It is an alarming fact, that this foreign vote has decided the great questions of American policy, and counteracted a nation's gratitude.

But, my dear sir, leaving this painful subject, let us look away to brighter and better prospects, and surer hopes, in the promises and consolations of the Gospel of our Saviour. As sinners who have rebelled against our Maker, we need a Saviour or we must perish, and this Redeemer has been provided for us. Prophecy declared him from the earliest period of our fall, in Paradise, and the Gospel makes known the faithful fulfillment. "Come unto me," cries this exalted Saviour, "come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Let us, then, repair to Him. He will never fail us in the hour of peril and trial. Vain is the help of man, and frail and fatal all trust in the arm of flesh; but he that trusteth in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion itself, that can never be removed. I pray, my honored friend, that your heart may seek this blessed refuge, stable as the everlasting hills, and let this be the occasion to prompt an earnest, prayerful, and the Lord grant it may be a joyful, search after truth as it is in Jesus Christ.

With affectionate regards to Mrs. Clay, in which my good wife, sorely tried, heartily unites, I remain with sincere esteem and best wishes, your friend.*

* It is thought proper to introduce a few of the very large file of letters to Mr Clay on the disappointment at his defeat as candidate for the Presidency in 1844, of which the above from Mr. Frelinghuysen, the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, on the ticket with Mr. Clay, is one.

THOMAS H. BAIRD TO MR. CLAY.

PITTSBURG, November 30, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—The result of the late elections, although disastrous to the country, yet, when properly examined, furnishes a proud vindication of your principles and fame. No man ever before received so glorious a testimonial. I believe, in fact, you had a majority of the legal votes throughout the Union. One thing, however, is certain. You had nine tenths of the virtue, intelligence, and respectability of the nation on your side. We failed in obtaining your election through the fraud and falsehood of our opponents, who will soon feel the effects of their folly and crime. The defeat is nothing to you; it is the people who are to be the sufferers, until delusion is dispelled, and they rise in their strength to cast off the oppressors.

I have no doubt that the principles which you have so long and so ably struggled to maintain, will at last be triumphant. They are identified with your person and character, and must be vindicated.

MILLARD FILLMORE TO MR. CLAY.

BUFFALO, November 11, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have thought for three or four days that I would write you, but really I am unmanned. I have no courage or resolution. All is gone. The last hope, which hung first upon the city of New York and then upon Virginia, is finally dissipated, and I see nothing but despair depicted on every countenance.

For myself I have no regrets. I was nominated much against my will, and though not insensible to the pride of success, yet I feel a kind of relief at being defeated. But not so for you or for the nation. Every consideration of justice, every feeling of gratitude conspired in the minds of honest men to insure your election; and though always doubtful of my own success I could never doubt yours, till the painful conviction was forced upon me.

The Abolitionists and foreign Catholics have defeated us in this State. I will not trust myself to speak of the vile hypoc-

risy of the leading Abolitionists now. Doubtless many acted honestly but ignorantly in what they did. But it is clear that Birney and his associates sold themselves to Locofocoism, and they will doubtless receive their reward.

Our opponents, by pointing to the Native Americans and to Mr. Frelinghuysen, drove the foreign Catholics from us and defeated us in this State.

But it is vain to look at the causes by which this infamous result has been produced. It is enough to say that all is gone, and I must confess that nothing has happened to shake my confidence in our ability to sustain a free Government so much as this. If with such issues and such candidates as the national contest presented, we can be beaten, what may we not expect? A cloud of gloom hangs over the future. May God save the country; for it is evident the people will not.

J. J. CRITTENDEN TO MR. CLAY.

FRANKFORT, November 13, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—The intelligence brought to us this morning has terminated all our hopes, our suspense, and our anxieties, in respect to the Presidential election. We now know the worst. Polk is elected, and your friends have sustained the heaviest blow that could have befallen them. You will feel, I trust, no other concern about it than that which naturally arises from your sympathy with those friends. You are, perhaps, the only man in the nation that can lose nothing by the result. Success could have added nothing to your name, and nothing, I believe, to your happiness. You occupy now, but too truly, the position described as presenting the noblest of human spectacles—

> "A great man struggling with the storms of fate,
> And nobly falling with a falling state."

C. L. L. LEARY TO MR. CLAY.

BALTIMORE, November 14, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—The inexpressible agony which the result of the recent contest has caused me, has left me no other source of relief than the one which I have here chosen. I beg you, sir,

to accept this as a sufficient apology for this intrusion. I am too well acquainted with your character to suppose that this result will affect you as it has affected your friends. That consciousness of purity of motive and of unbending rectitude, which has sustained you on former occasions, when the honor and prosperity of your country were the objects which alone you aimed at, and when your designs were purposely misconstrued by the envy and vindictive malice of your enemies, will still support you in this trying crisis; and in the patriotic efforts and ardent personal devotion of your friends, you will, I feel assured, realize enjoyments which all the honors of public station would fail to bestow. Whatever may have been the impelling considerations in the breasts of others, I am free to confess that "Justice to Henry Clay," rather than the behests of public duty, was the ruling motive which prompted me to the humble part I acted in the late conflict. Amid the gloom and chagrin of defeat, I devoutly thank God that the family with which I am connected, including a father and four sons, native-born American citizens, and competent voters, have not been reckless of the duty they owed to you and to their country, and that our beloved and venerated old Maryland, with a devotion that has never faltered when the true issue has been presented to her sons, has proclaimed trumpet-tongued to the world her confidence in your integrity, and her stern adherence to constitutional principles. I console myself, too, (and to you it must be a source of unfailing gratulation), that I find myself arrayed in this contest on the same side with the enlightened intelligence, virtue, and patriotism of the Union, with the line of discrimination so broadly and vividly drawn, that "the wayfaring man," though a fool in other matters, "need not err therein." Whatever partial triumphs we have won, have been achieved by honest American hearts, and with unstained American hands; no levies have been made upon the prisons and lazar-houses of Europe; no Canadian mercenaries or Hessian auxiliaries have been either pressed or purchased into our service; you are the only choice of the great American party, standing upon a broad American platform, supported and dependent upon an American Constitution, as framed, understood, and construed by the Patriot Fathers of the Republic. We are told in Holy Writ that "The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted;" and in this humiliating posture we now find American affairs. The very fountain of our political

system, from whence all authority and power flow, is revoltingly corrupt. The ballot-box is poisoned by gross ignorance and wanton perjury. The ermine of justice is spotted, and the judicial bench disgraced by undisguised partisan conduct, that in the better days of the Republic would have condemned the actors to merited infamy. To what source, then, are we to look for deliverance? Alas, sir, I only speak as hundreds of American Whigs this moment feel, when I say that I shudder for the fate of my country. I know that numbers of your fellow-citizens, of the class to which I belong, have opposed your elevation, and it is because I keenly feel the reproach which this fact awakens, that I have thus ventured to address you. But be assured, sir, that wherever you have a friend you will find friendship worth possessing, flowing from warm hearts, whose every affection is yours, and wholly yours. You may never again permit yourself to be called upon the stage of public life; but whatever course your sense of duty may urge you to take, I fervently trust that the Common Father of us all may lavish his choicest blessings upon your declining years, and that, amid the contentment which retirement from political turmoil brings, you will recognize Maryland, Kentucky, and their sister Whig States, as having heartily accorded to you that tribute of justice and gratitude which an ungrateful country has failed to bestow.

P. S. GALPIN AND OTHERS TO MR. CLAY.

New Haven, Conn., November 16, 1844.

Sir,—It is with much pleasure that we execute the duty assigned to us by the Whigs of this city, of transmitting to you the inclosed proceedings of a meeting held by them, on the evening of the 14th inst.; but this pleasure is mingled with the deepest regret, that we can not hail you, as we had fondly hoped, as President of these United States. The deplorable result of the late election, has here, as every where, filled the hearts of your Whig friends with pain and mortification, and this feeling has not been confined to the voters only, but has extended itself through all ages, sexes, and conditions, from "lisping infancy to hoary age."

We were not aware, until we saw our anticipations of your

success blighted, how strong a hold you had upon our affections, and we now feel that you are President in the hearts of a vast majority of the intelligent and patriotic citizens of the country, where you can never be defeated, and where the poisonous shafts of calumny can never reach you. Had you been called to assume the reponsibilities of the office of Chief Magistrate of the Union, we feel sure that the most eminent success in the discharge of its duties could not have increased your fame, or led us to cherish any warmer feelings than we now entertain for your character and public services.

We are proud, sir, of our city, for the vote she gave you, which was larger than ever given before to any candidate in a contested election, and we are proud of our State; that amid all the deceptions and slanders which have marked the course of our opponents throughout the late contest, she has given you a majority worthy of her character, and of the intelligence of her citizens.

May your valuable life, dear sir, be spared through many years to bless the country you have so greatly honored, and whose interest in times of danger you have so often and so nobly upheld.

AMBROSE SPENCER TO MR. CLAY.

ALBANY, November 21, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I can no longer resist the inclination which impels me to commune with you on the disastrous results of the efforts of the Whig party to do justice to you for your long and signal services to your country, by placing you at the head of the nation.

It is pretty well ascertained that had New York given you her vote, you would have been elected. This consideration is very mortifying to us; and yet, I venture to affirm, that in no State of the Union had you warmer, or more vigilant and vigorous supporters. Every thing that could be effected by human means was done. I know many, very many men, who laid aside all other business, and devoted themselves night and day in the good cause. The result of our canvass shows what mighty efforts have been made. You received 232,411 votes; Polk received 237,432; Birney, 15,875. What a monstrous poll. You received 6.594 more votes than Harrison did in 1840,

when his majority exceeded 13,000. You will perceive that the Abolition vote lost you the election, as three fourths of them were firm Whigs, converted into Abolitionists. The foreign vote also destroyed your election, and there was yet another distinct cause: the utter mendacity, frauds, and villainies of Locofocoism. This untoward event has produced universal gloom, and has shaken public confidence to an unexpected extent. Even many of those who voted for Polk, now that he is elected, deeply regret the result. God only knows to what we are destined. One sentiment seems to prevail universally, that the naturalization laws must be altered; that they must be repealed, and the door forever shut on the admission of foreigners to citizenship, or that they undergo a long probation. I am for the former.

The Germans and the Irish are in the same category; the one who know not our language, and are as ignorant as the lazaroni of Italy, can never understandingly exercise the franchise; and the other, besides their ignorance, are naturally inclined to go with the loafers of our own population.

I offer you not any condolence at this sad event; the country, not you, are the sufferers. Undoubtedly, your election would have been deeply gratifying to your feelings, as the award of your countrymen on your long, unwearied, and splendid public services. You have been spared the toils of four years hard service, which could not have raised you higher in the affections and confidence of your friends and admirers. Your Administration would have put at rest all contention on the duty and necessity of protecting American industry; on the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, and on many other vexed questions, which are now set afloat and put in jeopardy. In yielding my hearty support to the Whig cause, you are aware that I had no earthly motive but the public good. I confess that in doing all I could to promote your election, there was an additional motive: the deep respect and affection I felt for you individually, founded on your public services, and on those personal qualities which, on our first acquaintance, took a lodgment in my heart, never to be effaced.

That you may live long to enjoy, in any situation Providence may place you, the continued love and confidence of your countrymen, and all the blessings of this life, is my fervent prayer.

WILLIAM C. PRESTON* TO MR. CLAY.

COLUMBIA, November 23, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—My sense of the public calamity has, for some days, absorbed all emotions and affections of a private or personal character. I have been astonished with the result of the elections. The ways of nations, like those of Providence, are sometimes mysterious and inscrutable; and what our country has just done is of this sort. With the deepest interest in whatever concerns you personally, I have been solely occupied with these gloomy and portentous occurrences. What do they forebode to the country? As for you, they affect you in nowise but as depriving you of the means of further patriotic usefulness. You have long since passed that point when office could confer additional celebrity, or add an inch to the noble pre-eminence which history will assign to you. Though your name will not appear in the dull chronology of official succession, the times will be known as those in which the wisdom, courage and eloquence of Clay were displayed for the glory of his country. The time will come when all will be ashamed of these transactions. May God protect us from occasion to mourn over them in sorrow and bitterness of repentance. It would be vain and painful to speculate on the causes which have led to this result. The consequences of it will soon occupy the utmost anxieties of the country. For the present the Whig party of the South is dispersed; and we can not know our position until the heat and smoke of the conflict have passed away. In the mean time I content myself with the thought that I have (in however subordinate a station) fought the battle of the country under your standard, and am entitled to subscribe myself, etc.

CHRISTOPHER HUGHES TO MR. CLAY.

LONDON, November 27, 1844.

MY DEAR MR. CLAY; my chief, my old master, my venerated and beloved friend!

In an hour I shall be in the steamer for Rotterdam and the

* After the brilliant career of the Hon. Wm. C. Preston, as Senator of the United States, and at the Bar, he retired to the honorable and dignified Chair of President of Columbia College, South Carolina.

Hague. I am literally packing my trunk, and in great confusion! But I shall be too late to write from Holland by the steamer of the 4th December, and I will not lose a moment in conveying to you the heartfelt emotion, amazement, and grief with which I have received the news, just arrived, of the result of the Presidential election. Great God! is it possible! Have our people given this astonishing, this alarming proof of the madness to which party frenzy can carry them! England is astounded; on all hands I hear amazement, sorrow, uneasiness expressed; for in you and on your election depends, in the minds of this people and Government, the maintenance of harmony and peaceful relations between the two nations. The hopes of the wise and of the worthy of the New and of the Old World, rested (and seem to rest—no, now no more, for it is over) upon you. But I can not, if I would, dwell upon this matter. My heart is sad; and my time is up for embarking.

Let me, my beloved old friend, approach you in your defeat, with my ancient, my true, my invariable love, confidence, devotion and esteem; ay! let me add—and my admiration and honor. Since our first acquaintance in 1814, when we left our country to send home peace to our people, I have never—no, never—deserted you, in thought, in heart, or in deed! Never have I disguised my preference, my respect, my love and admiration for you; and I have prized, as the greatest success and honor of my life, your friendship for me, and the cheerful, amiable, playful, affectionate familiarity that you have always permitted and tolerated in me, your pupil and your friend. I know you have always loved me and trusted me. My eyes now run over—before God they do!—with the recollection of your affection and fondness for me, my great and good friend! I am weeping—as we both did, when comparatively young men—on the 2d December, 1814, the day we signed the peace of Ghent—when you threw your arms around my neck in bidding me adieu, seeing how sad I was; and exclaimed—"Hughes! my friend, what is the matter with you? I see that you are unhappy." I said that I was mortified at finding, that in the last "dispatches" to the Government at home (which I myself had copied, and was to bear home with the treaty), there was no mention of my name by my ministers, whom I had served with so much zeal, fidelity, and honor—that this mortified and pained me. You told me there had been such a sentence at the close

of the last dispatch, that it had been erased as not properly belonging to a public document, and was repeated in all your private letters to the Secretary of State, and to Mr. Madison, that admirable and incomparable man, whom I knew and loved. This did not appease me, and I said, Good God! are not the character and conduct of public servants, when they are honorable, proper in the public and published archives of the country? But I loved you, my excellent and kind-hearted friend, for the kindness and tenderness of your conduct. You embraced me—you wept like a child—your heart was full of the pride and pleasure and comfort of having achieved peace for your country, and you did more at that Congress than any other of its members, by your tact, your discretion, your moderation, your angelic self-command, and your incomparable manner; you did more—and I say it, and will bear this witness before the world—than any other, to bestow this most blessed of boons, this God-like gift, Peace among men; for, like the harmony of heaven, it passeth all understanding! You wept like a child on taking leave of me; you thought of your country, of your family, of your excellent wife, of your then—alas! no longer so—numerous family of young children; of me, who was leaving you in Europe, and about to embark in the dead of winter, and in a schooner (I was sixty days on the voyage), for our awful and dangerous coast! Your heart—and a kinder and a more affectionate one never filled the bosom of mortal man—your heart was full, and you wept like a child, as I do now, my dear Mr. Clay, in recalling this scene! We were alone, in the corridor of old Madame Van Canegheu's house (for you had followed me out of the room, seeing how sad I was), where we had dined after signing the Treaty at the British Minister's—you, my chief, had signed your last dispatch at Mme. Van C.'s, which I was to bear; and the good old lady thought it was "the Treaty," and the pen you used is in a glass case in her house, sacredly preserved to this day; for Mme. Van C. continued to believe that the peace had been made under her roof, and boasted of it till her death, twenty-five years after, and showed me, proudly, "the precious pen!" But I must stop. May God forever bless you! May he preserve you long for your country! No man now—I say, no man knows you as well as I do! No, not one! and I ever have loved and esteemed you, and it is my pride to feel—so have you me. Why, I could see comfort in

your heart and manner whenever I have been with you. You seemed to feel as if there was a safety, an ease, a pleasing security, when I was with you. Again and again, may God bless and preserve you. I write incoherently: you would not believe my emotion. My head is confused.

I send this letter open to my beloved Joseph Ingersoll. I can not write to him. You know how I love and estéem him. You know how I have written of him to you. He will read and send you this letter. I know not, and never have known, a better man than J. R. Ingersoll. I have not written to you twice in two years! I shall do so now. I will never desert you. I will love you; honor you away, and cheer you when at home, as I suppose I shall be soon. I have been in Ireland, to see my good brother-in-law, Colonel Moore. His health is better. He returns to the United States next May. He was heart and soul for you in the election. My silence proceeded from low spirits; I have shaken them off, and my health and my heart are sound and stout.

I passed an hour with Mr. Goulburne (Chancellor of Exchequeuer) day before the fatal news. He asked for you, and sends respects to you. He received me most affectionately. I never was treated with more kindness than now in England. No time to read this. While I live I am yours.

P. H. SYLVESTER AND OTHERS TO MR. CLAY.

Coxsackie, November 27, 1844.

Dear Sir,—I write to you in behalf of the Coxsackie Clay Club. The man who said "that he stood firm and erect, unbent, unbroken, unsubdued, unawed, and ready to denounce the mischevious measures of General Jackson's Administration," needs no sympathy from us.

It is from the gushing out and fullness of our hearts that we say to you that you have been our political idol, and that we esteem you as highly, and love you as dearly as we ever have done—in defeat, more than in victory—we can not say more, how can we say less?

When we were convinced that we were defeated, we felt as if we had no country, and that all that we considered as most

sacred and most cherished by us in it, was wrested from us by the insult that was offered to our own great and honest "Harry of the West."

There is one consolation to us, however, and that is, that your name will live. Yes, it must, it shall live forever, in undying, honorable fame. The measure of your glory was full to overflowing, and if success had crowned our exertions, would it have woven another wreath in the garland of fame that encircles your brow? Not one.

Your nomination was but the spontaneous and unanimous outbreaking of the feelings of a great majority of the intelligent and patriotic freemen of the land. By them you have been supported with the whole heart and soul and strength, with an intensity of feeling and exertion almost unparalleled, and every Whig heart is stricken down, and mourns that the Republic has exhibited such an instance of ingratitude.

We do not wish to burden you with our correspondence, but permit us to say in conclusion, that Henry Clay is more than ever beloved by his countrymen, and that posterity will do him justice. Our discomfiture only increases our respect and admiration for your character, and gratitude for your services. We point with unutterable pride to the fact that we cast our votes for the man "who would rather be right, than be President."

In behalf of each member of the Association, I tender you sentiments of affection, respect, and undiminished confidence and esteem.

Let me say for myself individually, may Almighty God bless you, may he lift upon you the light of his reconciled countenance, and prepare you for an abundant entrance into the abodes of more than mortal freedom.

PHILIP HONE TO MR. CLAY.

New York, November 28, 1844.

My dear Sir,—I hesitate and doubt whether I ought to add to the annoyance which I know you experience at this time, but I can not deny myself the privilege of writing to you, not to condole with you on your recent defeat, I know you feel little regret on your own account, but to give vent to my own sorrow, to deplore the infatuation of my countrymen, and to mingle my prayers

with yours, that the evils we anticipate from the unexpected result of the late election may be averted, and the people made happy against their own wayward wills.

You, and the holy cause of which you were the honored representative, have been sacrificed to fraud, corruption and misrepresentation, and the instruments used to effect the object were foreign voters made to order, and mischievous sectarians, who prefer to trust the success of their theory to the uncertain measures of an untried Administration than to one pledged to support the glorious Constitution and to maintain its guarantees.

The result of this election has satisfied me that no such man as Henry Clay can ever be President of the United States. The party leaders, the men who make Presidents, will never consent to elevate one greatly their superior; they suffer too much by the contrast, their aspirations are checked, their power is circumscribed, the clay can not be moulded into an idol suited to their worship. Moreover, a statesman, prominent as you have been for so long a time, must have been identified with all the leading measures affecting the interests of the people, and those interests are frequently different in the several parts of our widely extended country. What is meat in one section is poison in another. Give me, therefore, a candidate of an inferior grade, one whose talents, patriotism and public services have never been so conspicuous as to force him into the first ranks. He will get all the votes which the best and wisest man could secure, and some, which for the reasons I have stated, he could not.

But the especial object of my writing is to remove any unfavorable impressions (if such there be) from your mind as to the miserable result here. The loss of New York was fatal to the cause of the Whigs, but I pray you, dear sir, to attribute no part of this misfortune to a want of exertion on the part of your friends in the city of New York. Never before did they work so faithfully, and never, I fear, will they again; the man and the cause were equally dear to the noble Whigs, and every honorable exertion was made, every personal sacrifice submitted to, every liberal oblation poured upon the altar of patriotic devotion; nine-tenths of our respectable citizens voted for Clay and Frelinghuysen, the merchants, the professional men, the mechanics and working men, all such as live by their skill and the labor of their honest hands, who have wives whom they cherish and children whom they strive to educate and make good citizens, men who

go to church on Sundays, respect the laws and love their country, such men to the number of twenty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-five redeemed their pledge to God and the country; but alas! the numerical strength lies not in those classes. Foreigners who have "no lot or inheritance" in the matter, have robbed us of our birth-right, the "scepter has departed from Israel." Ireland has re-conquered the country which England lost, but never suffer yourself to believe that a single trace of the name of Henry Clay is obliterated from the swelling hearts of the Whigs of New York.

MR. CLAY TO REV. J. M. PENDLETON.

ASHLAND, November 29, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—My feelings prompt me to offer you my cordial acknowledgments for your friendly letter of the 21st instant. I entertain sentiments of the liveliest gratitude for the kind interest you have taken and continue to cherish in me. And I am greatly obliged by the desire you manifest that I should seek, in the resources of religion, consolation for all the vexations and disappointments of life. I hope you will continue your prayers for me, since I trust I am not altogether unworthy of them. I have long been convinced of the paramount importance of the Christian religion. I have, for many years, fervently sought its blessings. I shall persevere in seeking them, and I hope, ultimately, to attain a firm faith and confidence in its promises. There is nothing for which I feel so anxious. May God, in his infinite mercy, grant what I so ardently desire.

Should you pass this way, at any time, I shall be most happy to see you. Meanwhile, accept my thanks and my wishes for your happiness, here and hereafter.

JOHN H. WESTWOOD TO MR. CLAY.

BALTIMORE, November 28, 1844.

RESPECTED SIR,—Now that the Presidential contest is over, and the disastrous result is known, I can address you without the fear of selfishness, or a desire of ingratiating myself to your notice for personal motives.

I was one of your early and fast friends, and have stood by you in all the phases of political strife. I imbibed those predilections from a knowledge of your history, which is identified with the glory, prosperity, and happiness of our country. My venerated father who was a Whig of the Revolution, and who recently died at the advanced age of ninety-four, was likewise your constant and fast friend—perhaps it is owing to his admiration of you that mine has been engendered. I well recollect in the family circle while a boy, sitting around the domestic hearth, hearing my father recount your patriotic deeds. One sentence from a speech of yours, "The colors that float from the mast head should be the credentials of our seamen," was indelibly fixed on my mind. Then judge my deep mortification and disappointment to find the sailors' friend, the master-spirit of the late war, "the noblest Roman of them all," rejected by the American people, and such a man as James K. Polk placed in the Presidential chair. Did I say American people? I recall that expression, for two-thirds of the native freemen of the United States are your fast friends. Yes, sir, we love you now better than ever; and when the name of Jackson and others of your vile traducers shall be forgotten, yours shall be remembered and live in the affections of all lovers of liberty.

It was foreign influence aided by the Irish and Dutch vote that caused our defeat. As a proof, in my native city alone, in the short space of two months there were over one thousand naturalized. Out of this number nine-tenths voted the Locofoco ticket. Thus men who could not speak our language were made citizens and became politicians too, who at the polls were the noisy revilers of your fair fame—thus you have been well rewarded for the interest you ever took for the oppressed of other nations. Notwithstanding the ingratitude of the Irish and German voters, if the Abolitionists of New York had done their duty, all would have been well.

WILLIAM D. LEWIS TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, November 30, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—After the dreadful battle is over, and, as I believe, most foully won by our opponents, I feel as if it would be some relief to my mind to express to you the deep grief with which the result has penetrated my heart. I do not class my-

self, in this respect, in the general list of your "hosts of friends" throughout the country, for I am sure that, earnestly and truly as I know you to be admired and beloved by the best portion of your fellow-citizens, there are but a very small number who can realize as much sorrow on the present occasion as myself. Not that I expected, or had obtruded myself, while success seemed certain, into a position to expect, that I should have sought any personal benefit from that victory which I hoped and believed was about to reward your long and faithful services to your country; but that the kindnesses I had received from you in early life had indelibly stamped your image on my heart, and that your views of public policy so entirely accorded with the dictates of my matured judgment, that I looked to your elevation to the Presidency as a great personal delight to myself, and the harbinger of long-continued prosperity to the nation.

This glorious and beneficial result has been prevented through wicked and unprincipled men, by frauds upon the elective franchise, as monstrous as they are unprecedented; by fanaticism both religious and political, without a parallel in our history; and by a stolidity on the part of large masses of our population, which must go far to convince the most skeptical that there may be truth in the apothegm of monarchists, that the people are incapable of self-government.

All is now past. Regrets are unavailing. You will meet the untoward event as you have met all the dark hours which have preceded it in your eventful life—with manly fortitude and resignation. And viewing it in a philosophic light, you have, in fact, lost nothing. The honor attained would have brought with it an accumulation of cares, difficulties, and responsibilities; the unreasonable expectations of many of your supporters must have been disappointed, and perhaps some of your friendships have been thereby embittered. Your reputation as a statesman and a patriot remains untouched, or is rendered by the attrition of your slanderers even more brilliant, still commanding, as it has long commanded, the admiration of the world. Whatever patriotic achievements you might have accomplished in the four years to come could have added comparatively little to those of the forty years which are gone by.

A. B. ROMAN TO MR. CLAY.

PARISH OF ST. JAMES, December 2, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—At the very moment that I learned the disastrous result of the Presidential contest, I determined to write to you; but I soon perceived that I felt too strongly to express myself with any thing like calmness, and on that account I have delayed till now to condole with you on our unexpected misfortune.

To you, personally, I have no consolation to offer. I know that you need none, for in your defeat you have lost nothing—nothing more than I and every other American citizen has lost. You have, by your want of success, obtained this advantage, that your fellow-citizens may say openly what they think of you, without being suspected of interested motives. You have done enough for fame; the station of President could have added nothing to yours. The country alone was to have been benefited by your election. When posterity shall wonder that you did not obtain the first office in the gift of your countrymen, the only answer that can be given must raise you higher than the office could ever have done; it is because "he had rather be right than President."

But what must posterity say of the people of the Union? What are we henceforward to expect from a people, when a constitutional majority has been found to reject the Whig doctrines, of which you have always been the representative and able interpreter, and to decide in favor of the principles—or, rather, the want of principles—with which we have been cursed for more than fifteen years? That the majority should sometimes be deceived in the effects and results of abstract theories, is nothing more than can be expected from the frailty of human nature; but that they should not form a correct opinion of facts, that the distressful experience of fifteen years of demagogueism and barefaced corruption should not open their eyes, is truly degrading to our national character. Are the hopes which the framers of our Government have given to the friends of liberty throughout the world to end but in a splendid proof of the incapacity of men for self-government? I begin to fear that it must be so, unless we can succeed in the almost hopeless task of retracing some of the destructive steps we have taken; unless we find the means of restoring the lost sanctity of the ballot-box.

DR. MERCER TO MR. CLAY.

New Orleans, December 7, 1844.

My dear Friend,—I received your letter a few days ago, and soon after our arrival in town. It was a melancholy pleasure to hear from you.

The late election has mortified and distressed me more than I will attempt to express. Your friends are almost without hope, while you have consolations in abundance that are denied them. No one can deny, that without office or power, you are the first man in our country. It was Lord Ormonde, I think, who said he preferred his dead Ossary to the living son of any man in Europe.

I have never before witnessed such disappointment, distress, and disgust. The feeling seemed to pervade all classes. I have heard men of the opposite faction express their regret at the success of their party. A gray-headed man assured me that he could not restrain his tears. My own child wept bitterly. If, as I believe, you prefer reputation to power, and the approbation of the victorious and intelligent to the dignity of office, you have rather gained than lost by the defeat of your party. I can readily understand that you feel more for your country and your friends than for yourself.

Come then among them, my dear friend, you will find none elsewhere truer or warmer than those of Mississippi or of this place. Among the rest, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to see you here, for in this respect I will yield to none of them. Your old apartment is ready for you, and every one of the family would feel mortified if you were less at home with us than at your own Ashland.

I have nothing to do, and can foresee no engagement that will prevent my accompanying you, wheresoever you may wish to go—even to Cuba.

My daughter charges me to present her duty and her love to you. The ladies send their most affectionate remembrances. May I ask you to present my best respects to Mrs. Clay.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES F. BABCOCK AND OTHERS.

ASHLAND, December 17, 1844.

GENTLEMEN,—I duly received your friendly letter transmitting the proceedings of a public meeting held in the city of New Haven, in respect to the late Presidential election. The patriotic spirit, manifest in the whole of them, is worthy of Connecticut, worthy of its renowned seat of learning, and worthy of the Whig cause. For the sentiments of attachment, confidence and friendship toward myself, which they exhibit, and which you so kindly reiterate in your letter, I offer the warm acknowledgments of a grateful heart. My obligations to Connecticut and my friendly intercourse with many of her eminent sons, during a long period of time, will be faithfully remembered while I continue to live.

I share with you, gentlemen, in regrets on account of the unexpected issue of the recent election. My own personal concern in it is entitled to very little consideration, although I affect no indifference in that respect. The great importance of the event arises out of the respective principles in contest between the two parties, the consequences to which it may lead and the alleged means by which it was brought about, of which, however, I do not allow myself particularly to speak.

The policy of the country in regard to the protection of American industry, a few months ago, seemed to be rapidly acquiring a permanent and fixed character. The Southern and Southwestern portions of the Union had been reproached at the North for want of sufficient interest and sympathy in its welfare. Yielding to the joint influence of their own reflections and experience, the Slave States were fast subscribing to the justice and expediency of a Tariff for revenue, with discriminations for protection. At such an auspicious moment, instead of cordially meeting the Slave States and placing the principle of protection upon impregnable and desirable ground, a sufficient number of the free States, to be decisive of the contest, abandoned what was believed to be their own cherished policy and have aided, if not in its total subversion, in exposing it to imminent hazard and uncertainty. Discouragement has taken the place of confidence in the business of the country, enterprise is checked, and no one knows to what employment he can now safely direct his exertions. Instead of a constantly augmenting home market, we are in danger of experiencing its decline at a time when the

foreign market is absolutely glutted with American productions, cotton especially, which is now selling at a lower price than was ever before known. It is probably destined to fall still lower. The final and not distant result will be, especially if large importations shall be stimulated by low duties, a drain of the specie of the country, with all its train of terrible consequences, on which I have neither inclination nor time to dwell.

If the cause of the Whigs had triumphed, the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands would have been secured, and that great national inheritance would have been preserved for the benefit of the present and future generations. I shall be most agreeably disappointed if it be not wasted in a few years by graduation and other projects of alienation, leaving no traces of permanent benefit behind.

I could not touch upon other great measures of public policy, which it was the purpose of the Whigs to endeavor to establish, without giving to this letter an unsuitable length. They may be briefly stated to have aimed at the purity of the Government, the greater prosperity of the people, and additional security to their liberties and to the Union, and, with all, the preservation of the peace, the honor and the good faith of the nation. The Whigs were most anxious to avoid a foreign war, for the sake of acquiring a foreign territory, which, under the circumstances of the acquisition, could not fail to produce domestic discord, and expose the character of the country, in the eyes of an impartial world, to severe animadversions.

But our opponents have prevailed in the late contest, and the Whigs are, for the present, denied the satisfaction of carrying out their measures of national policy. Believing that they are indispensable to the welfare of the country, I am unwilling to relinquish the fond hope that they may be finally established, whether I live to witness that event or not. In the mean time, those to whose hands the administration of public affairs is confided ought to have a fair trial. Let us ever indulge an anxious desire that the evils we have apprehended may not be realized, that the peace of our country may be undisturbed, its honor remain unsullied, and its prosperity continue unimpeded.

To guard, however, against adverse results, the resolution of the Whigs of the city of New Haven steadfastly to adhere to the Whig cause and principles, is wise and patriotic.

I should be most happy to visit once more New England, and

especially New Haven, which has done me so much honor by giving me, at the late election, the largest majority ever given by that city in a contested election. I shall embrace, with great pleasure, any opportunity, should any ever offer, to accept your obliging invitation.

I tender to you, gentlemen, my cordial thanks for your friendly wishes and kind regards for me and mine, and I hope that one and all of you may long live in health, happiness, and prosperity

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BENJAMIN J. LEEDOM TO MR. CLAY.

NEW YORK, December 20, 1844.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—Although a member of a peaceable Society, who do not profess to take much interest in the political contests of the day, yet as a man endowed with the common feelings of humanity, and a strong desire for the promotion of the best interests of my fellow-man, do I mourn over the dark cloud which has overshadowed the political horizon of our beloved country; the prostration of those high and glorious principles, of which thou hast so long been the great and unwearied champion—that prostration brought about by fraud and calumny, is our country's loss, for I am fully aware that had the victory been ours, it could not have added one leaf to the wreath which encircles thy brow,

> "For thou art freedom's now, and fame's;
> One of the few, the immortal names
> That are not born to die."

It is for my country that I mourn, that in thy retirement, one of the strongest advocates for those high and glorious principles is removed, and I had fondly hoped that, like Cincinnatus, thou too, wouldst have left the scenes of domestic life, and once more have been heard in our legislative halls. The feeling may be a selfish one in me, for well I know that it is unreasonable to wish to draw thee from thy peaceful abode, into the turbid waters of public life again, after so many years of laborious toil.

Happy is he who carries with him into retirement the prayers of the patriotic and intelligent of his country—these thou hast.

My venerated grandsire left the peaceful society of which I

am a member, to stand by the Father of his country, in the dark hour which tried the souls of men. The same feelings, and the same love of country which nerved him to the contest in '76, prompted his descendant in '44 to deposit his vote for Henry Clay. That vote shall be handed down as an heirloom to my children; although defeated, yet that name will be the point around which freemen shall rally, until victory crowns our efforts.

With a sincere prayer that thy days may be long in the land, and that peace and happiness may be thine, I remain, etc.

ADAM BEATTY TO MR. CLAY.

PROSPECT HILL, December 24, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—The result of the late Presidential election has produced on my mind the deepest regret and the most profound sorrow. You may well imagine that your failure of success has had no small share in exciting these emotions. But it is the deep wound inflicted on the honor and best interests of the country, by which I have been most sorely afflicted. Your failure has relieved you from a heavy responsibility, and, I doubt not, in your retirement at Ashland, you will enjoy more real satisfaction than all the honors of the Presidential office could afford. It will be the means of carrying down to posterity your name with greater luster than if you had been elected to the Presidency, and I humbly hope that in the wise dispensation of Providence your defeat may redound to your temporal and eternal good.

But oh! what a wound has been inflicted upon the honor and interests of our country? The election has been carried in favor of Mr. Polk, by the most shameful and abominable frauds practiced to an extent which, to every reflecting mind, must create the most awful apprehensions as to the future destinies of our free institutions, and the perpetuity of the Union.

But this is not all. The foulest and most unprincipled means have been resorted to, and with great success, to excite the bitter hatred of our recently naturalized citizens, Roman Catholics and Abolitionists, against Whig principles, by the grossest and foulest misrepresentations, thus setting in hostile array against the great conservative principles of the Whig party an embittered faction, whose want of intelligence has been played upon to excite to the

highest degree the ungovernable passions of a considerable portion of our population.

Reflection upon these circumstances has brought strongly to my mind the remark of an eminent modern historian, "That the great body of mankind are incapable of judging correctly on public affairs." "That the opinion of most men on the great questions which divide society, rest on prejudices, personal animosities, and private interests." He consoles his readers by the reflection that "truth is in the end triumphant, but it becomes predominant only upon the decay of interests, the experience of suffering, or the extinction of passions."

I greatly fear our country is destined to go through this ordeal, great suffering she will have to endure, but I pray God that truth may in the end prevail, and that our Republican institutions may yet be saved.

I have scarcely been able to summon resolution enough to say a word to any of my friends, in relation to the arduous contest through which the country has recently passed, but I have thought a word of consolation, if I were able to afford it, due to our long standing friendship. It affords me some satisfaction at least, under the adverse state of things which exists, to assure you of my abiding and cordial esteem and friendship. Permit me to add a request that you will present my kindest regards to Mrs. Clay.

E. PETTIGREU TO MR. CLAY.

MAGNOLIA, Tyrrell County, NORTH CAROLINA,
January 1, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—The storm is over, and we the people of the United States are shipwrecked, and I fear too much damaged ever to be repaired.

The result of the Presidential election was to me perfectly astounding, yet for weeks before it, I began to fear, as it is natural for me to look on the dark side of every subject, and I mentioned confidentially to some of my friends that I had apprehensions; consequently endeavored to prepare my mind for the evil day; that day which in my opinion is the beginning of the end of the peace, prosperity, and happiness of this rising country, if it did not begin in the year 1829, with the reign of Hickory the First.

My dear sir, on you rested my only hope, to stay the downward tendency of this Government, and at the Court House of my county, in a few remarks I made to the people on the day of election, I entreated them to do their utmost, to stay that decline, for four years, and it might be that affairs would be put in such a train, that misrule would not get the ascendency in four years more, and though I felt every thing for the generations to come, yet I wished of all things to be gathered to my fathers before war, pestilence, and famine should overwhelm the land. We did well in the county in which I live, and I feel proud to know that the State of North Carolina is numbered among the Law and Order party, though differing with so many of its neighboring States.

The malcontents of these United States have given the great est blow to elective Government that ever was given. It has shown to the best friends of republican Governments that demagogues, who without principle and without honesty, to answer party and selfish purposes will rake the pit for voters, as in this case, and thereby drive from office those who could save the country and put in their stead a third-rate man. Yea, a no-rate man. Such men from want of capacity to manage the affairs of Government must submit to the dictation of artful, designing, dishonest, and irresponsible men, and every department of the Government must necessarily run into anarchy and confusion.

But on this subject I need say no more. It is all plain to you, and my remarks are only to show how much I deplore the failure of our forefathers, the patriots of the Revolution. But one word on the subject of naturalization. My opinion has been for forty years that there should be no citizens of the United States except those born within its limits. Let every foreigner be satisfied to enjoy all the other privileges that the State in which they chose to live thought proper to grant. Had that been the law, we should not now be like men in a thunder squall wait ing with trembling anxiety for the next clap.

My dear sir, I must say that I feel very much for your disappointment in being prevented, by corruption, after more than forty years of devotion to your country's good, from doing to it the greatest service that could fall to the lot of any man. We all need deplore the circumstance as a national calamity; but from you, there is removed a great weight of responsibility, and

you now rest under a perfect knowledge that you retire into private life with the highest honors that can fall to any man now living, the confidence, esteem, and love of hundreds of thousands of those of your fellow-citizens who know you best.

N. B. I omitted to mention, that in 1829, I was unreserved in saying that I gave this United States Government thirty years to continue; which has been my unwavering opinion and declaration up to this time, and I fear my time will be found too long, and I further fear that God has given us up as unworthy of his care and protection, and to a hard heart and reprobate mind, at all events politically.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, January 4, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—Commodore Jesse D. Elliot has committed to my charge, to be transmitted to you, a bronze medal, which he has caused to be struck in honor of Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper, as a tribute of gratitude for Mr. Cooper's defense and vindication of the Commodore's character with reference to certain charges which have been brought before the Republic against him. Commodore Elliot proposes to distribute a limited number of these medals to certain distinguished persons, and to some of his personal friends, and then to have the die broken. I take pleasure in executing his commission, by forwarding herewith the medal to you.

I have yet to acknowledge the receipt of a very kind and friendly letter from you, written shortly before the unexpected and inauspicious issue of the recent Presidential election. It has been on many accounts painful to me; but on none more, or so much, as on the dark shade which it has cast upon our prospects of futurity. I had hoped that under your guidance the country would have recovered from the downward tendency into which it has been sinking. But the glaring frauds by which the election was consummated, afford a sad presentiment of what must be expected hereafter.

We must hope that a merciful Providence will yet preside over the destinies of our country, and avert the calamities with which she is threatened.

That your personal comforts may be multiplied in proportion to the weight of cares which a different issue would have brought upon you is the fervent wish of, dear sir, your friend and faithful servant.

MR. CLAY TO JOHN CARR.

ASHLAND, January 11, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letter, and thank you for the kind feelings toward me which it expresses. Your suggestion that I would prepare a journal of my public life, embracing a narrative of all the slanders which have been so profusely propagated against me, is received in the same friendly spirit in which it was made. As to the calumnies circulated against me, many of them, I dare say, never reached me, and I wish to forget them and their vile authors as soon as I can. I hope God will forgive them. I do not desire to soil myself by any contact with them. The best demonstration of their falsehood is the testimony in my favor, borne by my neighbors, and by the people of Kentucky, uniformly, during a period of upward of forty years.

Wishing you health, happiness, and prosperity, I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, February 3, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry that after having remained in Lexington, I hope agreeably, for two months, you should be about to leave us in not as good health as you have enjoyed during your sojourn.

With respect to the composition of the work which you have so much at heart, and which brought you to this city, I think now, as I stated to you at first, that every thing depends upon the execution, that most important word in language. You have shown me most, if not all you have written, and, as I formed the subject of it, perhaps I am not a competent, as I certainly am not an impartial, judge. But, unless I am already biased, I do think that, so far, you have made good progress, and may ask leave to sit again. What you have written may require an attentive revisal, and some new arrangement of its parts, before it is finally

sent to the press, that bourne from which a traveler does not always safely return.

I need not say that by far the most important, the historical, part of your work remains to be entered upon. I hope you will get successfully through it, to accomplish which, I hardly need say, will require great patience, much research and study, and a large measure of candor and impartiality.

I can not part from you without the expression of fervent wishes for your success and fame, and for your health and prosperity.

B. JOHNSON BARBOUR TO MR. CLAY.

BARBOURSVILLE, February, 16 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—It has long been my wish to address you a letter, but I have been deterred until now by the fear that you were already too much wearied by an extensive correspondence. Nor had I the heart to dwell upon the subject which lay uppermost in my thoughts. I could not sit down calmly to speak of an event trifling to yourself, but portentous to the nation.

Permit me, Mr. Clay, to say that my affection for you, based upon a love of all that is bright and noble in human nature, is not the growth of a day. I claim the privilege of speaking as an original Whig, as one baptized in the faith at the fountain, as one who was taught to love the Whig cause when he knew no better, and who never knows nothing better than to love it. My love for its great representative was coeval. In my earliest youth I was taught by him who was your constant friend to honor the pure statesman and patriot pursued by calumny, but still laboring with undiminished ardor for an ungrateful country. I felt then that, when the vile passions and prejudices of the day had passed away, you would have your merited reward from an approving posterity; that your memory would be cherished when the demagogues who traduced you were

"Forgotten as fools, or remembered as worse;"

that you would be hailed as the wondrous architect that had strengthened and adorned the noble edifice whose foundation was won by the valor of Washington, and whose corner-stone was laid by the wisdom of Madison.

A brighter day seemed at length to have dawned upon the Republic. The nation seemed at length to have awakened to its true interests, and in the Presidential contest of 1844 I fondly looked forward to the confusion of your enemies, your complete justification, and the firm re-establishment of our great conservative cause. In this we have been sadly mistaken. Double-dealing, defamation and slanders are still omnipotent. A motley party, without principle or principles, with fraud for the means and the election of a demagogue for the end, have triumphed. Domestic corruption and foreign putrescence coalesced to overwhelm the virtue and honesty of the country. Plaquemine and Tammany have stifled the voice of the American people, and the late contest has only established the melancholy facts that frauds upon the ballot box have perfect impunity, that mediocrity is merit, and that every excess may be committed in the name of a spurious Democracy.

This is a mournful spectacle for the patriot, and it is perhaps better for your fame that you were not called upon to wage an ineffectual and unavailing contest with the corruption which pervades every part of the body politic. But little pleasure could be felt by the President of a nation where Dorr found mourners, disunion advocates; where a lust of territory overrides every principle of law, all fear of consequence, and all sense of justice; where rebellion puts the power of a State at defiance, and repudiation grows, prospers, and exults. Such are the terrible symptoms by which we are surrounded, telling of the decay of virtue and honor, the only safeguard of a Republic.

These are sad and gloomy thoughts, you will say, for one so young. God grant I may be mistaken, that better things may be in store for us, that the time may return when patriotism will be no crime, nor long service a subject of reproach.

As an humble member of the Whig party I shall never cease to lift my voice against the foes of my country, that I may have something at least of that proud consolation which is yours, the consciousness that every nerve was strained and nothing left undone to avert the final catastrophe.

My mother desires to be most kindly remembered to yourself and Mrs. Clay.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, March 5, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favors from Washington and from Philadelphia, the latter making inquiries concerning my paternal ancestors. I am sorry that I am unable to communicate to you any minute information about them. All that I know, in the general, is that they came from England to the colony of Virginia, some time after its establishment, and settled, I believe, on the south side of James River. The descendants of the original stock are very numerous, and much dispersed, many of them residing in Virginia and Kentucky. A branch, or branches of the family remained in England, and among their descendants was Mr. J. Clay, recently quite a distinguished member of the British House of Commons.

My maternal ancestors also came from England, and settled in Hanover county, Virginia, about the beginning of the last century. George Hudson, my maternal grandfather, died about the year 1770, in that county.

This is about as much as I can inform you in regard to my ancestors, and from this statement, you will, I hope, be able to incorporate all that is material in your narrative.

My family is well, and unite with me in assurances of our warm regard.

NOTE WITHOUT DATE.

I received to-day your favor from Philadelphia. I am sorry that you should have any trouble about my English namesakes. I am not sure that two of them have been members of the House of Commons. One, I know, has been, because I have read a speech of his, and have corresponded with him, although I can not now lay my hands upon any letter of his. He distinguished himself some years ago, on the Bank question. Most probably it was William. When I wrote you last, I thought his name was J. Clay, being uncertain whether it was John or Joseph. It was probably William.

It is not a matter of much consequence, and perhaps you had better confine what you say to the one of whom you know something.

MR. CLAY TO DR. W. A. BOOTH.

ASHLAND, April 7 1845.

DEAR SIR,—Our mutual friend, Mr. Mitchell, of Frankfort, delivered to me the day before yesterday your letter, with several publications under your name, in respect to the unfortunate controversy which has arisen in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, all of which I have attentively perused. You desire an expression of my opinion on certain inquiries communicated in your letter.

I have long entertained for that Church sentiments of profound esteem and regard, and I have the happiness of numbering among its members some of the best friends I have in the world. I will add, with great truth, that I have witnessed, with much satisfaction, the flourishing condition of the Church, and the good sense and wisdom which have generally characterized the administration of its affairs, as far as I have observed it.

It was, therefore, with the deepest regret that I heard, in the course of the past year, of the danger of a division of the Church, in consequence of a difference of opinion existing on the delicate and unhappy subject of slavery. A division, for such a cause, would be an event greatly to be deplored, both on account of the Church itself and its political tendency. Indeed scarcely any public occurrence has happened for a long time that gave me so much real concern and pain as the menaced separation of the Church, by a line throwing all the Free States on one side, and all the Slave States on the other.

I will not say that such a separation would necessarily produce a dissolution of the political union of these States; but the example would be fraught with imminent danger, and, in co-operation with other causes unfortunately existing, its tendency on the stability of the Confederacy would be perilous and alarming.

Entertaining these views, it would afford me the highest satisfaction to hear of an adjustment of the controversy, a reconciliation between the opposing parties in the Church, and the preservation of its unity.

I limit myself to the political aspect of the subject, without expressing any opinion on either of the plans of compromise and settlement which have been published, which I could not do without exposing myself to improper imputations.

With fervent hopes and wishes that some arrangement of the difficulty may be devised and agreed upon, which shall preserve the Church in union and harmony, I am respectfully your obedient servant.

JOHN R. THOMPSON TO MR. CLAY.

University of Virginia, April 8, 1845.

My dear Sir,—Allow me to say that in venturing to offer the expression of my condolence, where condolence is doubtless inapposite, as the result of the late Presidential election, I do so as an original Whig, as a native of that "Gibraltar of Whig principles," the city of Richmond, which has always stood up nobly for you through good and evil report, and where, forty-five years ago, in the office of Chancellor Wythe, you laid the imperishable foundations of that greatness, which has since overshadowed the world. Your own generous Kentucky has not been more faithful to your fortunes. I trust, therefore, that you will recognize my right, as a citizen of Richmond, and as one who gave with honest pride his first vote for you, to lament the disaster that has befallen us.

I had fondly looked forward to November, 1844, as the day when the people of our beloved country would assert their long-violated rights, when the malevolence of a vile herd of defamatory enemies would be silenced forever, when a Republic, ceasing to be ungrateful, would reward, with the highest office in its gift, the man who of all others had deserved it. I can not tell you, sir, the sense of desolation and crushed hopes with which the painful intelligence of your defeat was received. Frauds, the most infamous in the annals of the elective franchise, stifled the voice of the people, and national disgrace was effected by a motley party of Dorrites and Agrarians, Mormons and Repudiators, the voters of Plaquemine and the outlaws of the Empire Club. Since their ill-omened success, this party have already commenced the work of destruction, and we have, but a few weeks since, seen the plainest provisions of our blessed Constitution set at naught, in the passage of the Texas bill. There is, indeed, a dark pall over the prospect before us when that sacred instrument can be trampled upon by peculation and cupidity.

For yourself, personally, the present age may not accord you

justice. But I feel assured that a time will come, and I trust in God I may live to see it, when the passions and prejudices of the present state have passed away, and your stainless and splendid name will be revered by an admiring posterity.

The patriotic exertions of the women of Virginia to erect a statue in commemoration of your virtues, can not have escaped your attention. I take pleasure in stating to you that I was yesterday informed by Mrs. Lucy Barbour, the venerable and distinguished lady, who gave to the work its first impulse, that success is certain, and that next summer the corner-stone will be laid. We will erect it upon our Capitol Square, in Richmond, and it shall bear some such inscription as was once applied to Charles James Fox, a character, in many respects, kindred with your own:

"A patriot's even course he steered,
'Mid faction's wildest storms unmoved,
By all who marked his course, *revered*,
By all who knew his heart, *beloved*."

Inclosed you will find a copy of some poor verses that I wrote for Mr. Pleasants on the occasion of Christmas, in which is attempted a satire on the follies of the age. I hope you will not deem it impertinent if I ask that you will do me the honor to read them.

DOCTOR MERCER TO MR. CLAY.

New Orleans, April 22, 1845.

My very dear Friend,—I have received here your kind letter from Natchez, whence it was forwarded. We have been detained by Miss Young's indisposition, now of several months duration, and by her desire to enjoy the benefit of Lugenburg's advice. But as she is now much relieved, I indulge the hope of returning home next week.

In regard to your affairs, or rather to a late movement on the part of your friends, however reluctant I might be on ordinary occasions to hazard one, conscious of its little authority, yet I have not the slighest hesitation to express my opinion as the case appears a very plain one.

I learn from your letter that certain of your debts have been cancelled at Lexington by some unknown and inscrutable agency, that you suspect the interposition of your friends, and that you

are somewhat doubtful whether it would not be more consistent with the independence of your previous life that you should reject the kindly office thus proffered.

Now in all ages signal public services have been rewarded by national benefactions. In our own day, Sièyes and Wellington have had grants of domains, the debts of Pitt have been paid by Parliament, Fox did not disdain the assistance of his friends. Your memory will furnish innumerable other instances. If Republics are ungrateful it is the more necessary that private individuals should perform the duty neglected by the public authorities.

You have devoted more than forty years of your life to public affairs, and have rendered the most important public services. If, in this distinguished career, you have acquired fame surpassing that of your cotemporaries, it is equally true, that the same capacity, industry and zeal, would have insured to you the most ample fortune. This, it strikes me, is the true view of the case, and is conclusive beyond question, as you would also think if you were not interested.

But there is another aspect. Would it not be ungracious to repel the friendly hand that is tendered, to mortify those who are warmly attached to you, and to consult—shall I venture on the word?—your pride, at the expense of their feelings?

My dear friend, you must submit, there is no remedy; for, if your suspicions are correct, you can not overcome the precautions which may have been adopted to guard against this very contingency.

I venture to use the language which is dictated alike by my grateful sense of your sentiments toward me, as by my high respect and warm attachment for you. Most surely it is the duty of a friend to speak plainly, without, however, disregarding the delicacy aud courtesy which are equally necessary.

I hope Mrs. Clay has not forgotten me, and that she will accept my respects.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, April 28, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your letter of the 17th instant. Compression is your forte in composition; but is there

not danger of your elaborating too much the old calumny of bargain, etc.? The division you propose of the subject appears to me to be natural and suitable

When I meet Governor Letcher I will endeavor to prevail on him to give the certificate you desire. He may perhaps consent to furnish it to be used only in the contingency of his death. If living, and the statement of Mr. B.'s agency should be denied, appealed to as he is as a witness, I am sure he would be willing to testify. You will find Mr. Buchanan's speech, what you want, in Gales and Seaton's Congressional Debates, although I can not refer you to the page. Governor Letcher could refer to it.

It would be well not to publish Colonel Sloan's statement until I hear from Mr. Reilly, the Texan Chargé des Affaires. I endeavored, through him, to procure from General Houston a confirmation of Colonel Sloan's testimony, and have not yet learned what success attended the effort.

Mr. Adams' appeal to heaven was at Maysville, I think in November 1843, on the occasion of his visit to Cincinnati. He made a very strong defense of me in 1829 in answer to some address from New Jersey, which you will no doubt be able to find in Niles' Register.

A GOLD PEN TO MR. CLAY.

New York, 8 Washington Square, July 12, 1845.

Honored and honorable Sir,—Designed by my maker for actual service, and ambitious to hold a situation where I can gain the highest honor, and confer the greatest benefit on mankind, I am emboldened, at the suggestion of a friend, to present myself before you, to solicit your patronage and favor.

Truth compels me to admit that I have but little to recommend me to your notice. Although I derive my origin from a rich and powerful family, to whom even princes pay court, and whose influence is felt throughout the world, I am myself without influence, without the attraction of peculiar beauty, am worth but little money, and wholly destitute of intellectual endowments. Yet, kind sir, if you will take me by the hand and admit me to your intimate companionship, to your treasury of thoughts, I shall soon become familiar with all that is noble in sentiment, lofty in conception, wise in judgment, beautiful in imagery, honest in purpose, and truthful in expression.

Thus guided I can not fail to impart pleasure and instruction to the world; and to gain in return, the world's admiration and applause.

Insignificant as I may appear in comparison with such of my elegant relations as have lately been presented to you, I yet hope you will deign to listen to my application, will give me a place near your person, and allow me to remain, honored sir, ever yours to command.

MR. CLAY TO J. MUIR.

ASHLAND, August 7, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter and thank you for the friendly sentiments which it conveys. I have ceased to have any, I never had many, personal regrets on account of the issue of the Presidential election. Those which I most felt were excited for my country and for my friends. They remain undiminished. And for no portion of them were my sympathies more strongly awakened than for our countrywomen. Their hearts, every where, assured them of the deep and durable interests involved in the contest, and intuitively prompted them to avert all calamity from our land, if they could. Mine gratefully owns the kind partiality which they manifested toward me. The ladies of Alexandria are entitled to a large share of the great obligation which I owe to their whole sex.

I return the blank notes which you transmitted, with my name affixed to each as you desired. I add a similar one for Mrs. Mandell.

I will thank you to make my respects and my acknowledgments to the poet mechanic, of whose versification you have sent a specimen so creditable to his talent.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

BLUE SULPHUR, VIRGINIA, September 5, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor, proposing to send the proofs to me of your first volume. I am now *en route* to Ashland, where I shall be glad to receive them, hoping to find in the introduction, as intimated in your previous letter, an exoneration of me from any responsibility for the composition of the work. It is the best if not only mode of correcting the error committed in the prospectus.

I saw Judge Brooke at the White Sulphur Springs. He tells me that he has packed up a large bundle of my letters, and placed them in the care of a friend, to be delivered to you. He thinks that you may derive useful matter from them. He has returned to St. Julien, his residence near Fredericksburg.

I have also received a package of some forty of my letters, addressed to the late J. S. Johnston, Senator from Louisiana, sent me by the widow of his only son. I will try to find some person to forward them by to you from Lexington.

I have not yet heard from General Houston; but Mr. Reiley, the husband of my wife's niece, still believes I shall receive a communication from him.

MR. CLAY TO DR. W. A. BOOTH.

ASHLAND, September 15, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—A temporary absence from home has delayed my acknowledgment of the receipt of your favor of the 7th ultimo. I have not received the pamphlet to which it refers. But any expression of my opinion, as to your plan of compromise between the two divisions of the Methodist Church, would be now wholly unimportant, if at any time it would have been worth any thing, since a separation seems to be inevitable. When such is the case, in human affairs, I think the best way is to seek to avoid any mischievous consequences.

I must continue to regret the separation, because I believe it to have an evil tendency. Others think differently; and my hope is that they may, in the end, prove to be right, and I wrong.

It was not my intention, in my former letter, to impute any error to the Southern portion of the Church, on the unhappy subject of Slavery, the immediate cause of division.

My opinion is, that the existence of Slavery, or the fact of owning slaves, in States which authorize the institution of Slavery, does not rightfully fall within the jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical bodies. The law of the land is paramount, and ought not to be contravened by any spiritual tribunal.

MR. CLAY TO CALVIN COLTON.

ASHLAND, September 16, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 2d instant. I have really no coat of arms, and if I had, I should doubt the propriety of the use of it suggested by you. In lieu of it, would it not be better to employ some object drawn from those interests which I have sought to promote in the National Councils? A loom, shuttle, anvil, plow, or any other article connected with manufactures, agriculture, or commerce. I wrote you from the Blue Sulphur. Yours respectfully.

HENRY WHITE AND OTHERS TO MR. CLAY.

PHILADELPHIA, December 21, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—The undersigned, acting for the Whigs of Philadelphia, have the honor to ask your acceptance of the book which accompanies this letter. It contains an expression of gratitude from your Whig brethren here, for your eminent services as a statesman, and a testimonial of their regard for you, as a citizen and friend.

The undersigned have the honor to send with the book a casket of jewels, manufactured in this city for Mrs. Clay. On behalf of the ladies and gentlemen whose names are contained in the book, they present them to Mrs. Clay, as a mark of their high consideration and respect for the worth and virtues of the lady of one to whom the country owes a debt of gratitude that never can be repaid.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE AND OTHERS.

ASHLAND, December 16, 1845.

GENTLEMEN,—I received to-day at this place, the letter which on the 1st inst., you did me the honor to address to me, from the hands of Henry White, Esq., one of the subscribers to it. He at the same time delivered to me the book, beautifully printed and bound, entitled "A Testimonial of Gratitude and Affection to Henry Clay," containing the proceedings of a meeting of my friends in the city of Philadelphia, publicly held at the County Court-house, on Wednesday evening, December 19, 1844, in

pursuance of a call of the National Clay Club, and containing also several thousand names of both sexes, young and old, of those who have done me the great honor of contributing a testimonial to my public services, to the principles and measures which I have endeavored to establish, and to my exertions in the common cause which we have espoused.

It is utterly impossible, gentlemen, for me to find language of sufficient force and strength, to express to you the emotions of gratitude and thankfulness excited in my breast by this precious and affecting testimonial. It will be ever warmly cherished by me throughout my life, and be preserved and transmitted to my descendants, as the most honorable legacy which I could bequeath to them. And I request you to say to one and all of the contributors, that their respective names are not more indelibly recorded in the splendid book which they have sent me, than in grateful impressions on my heart.

I am also charged by Mrs. Clay to present her cordial and respectful thanks (to which I beg leave to add my own), to the ladies and gentlemen who have had the goodness to send her a casket of rich jewels, which Mr. White kindly delivered into her own hands, for their highly valuable present. Her grateful obligations for it, she enjoins me to say, are not at all diminished by the reflection that considerations apart from any merits of her own, have prompted the generous offer of it to her acceptance.

I embrace the occasion to bear my testimony, and to tender my thanks to you, gentlemen, the trustees appointed under the authority of the public meeting in Philadelphia, before mentioned, for the delicacy, the fidelity, and the honor, with which you have executed the trust confided to you. And I have great pleasure in expressing my thanks and gratitude to Mr. White, in particular, for the great trouble and inconvenience which he has encountered, by performing a long journey, at a most inclement season, to fulfill the commission intrusted to him.

I am, gentlemen, with sentiments of the highest respect and regard, your grateful and faithful friend, and obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO W. L. WOODWARD.

ASHLAND, January 3, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor, and take pleasure in answering it. The desire to trace out your ancestry is very

natural. I have often felt it in respect to mine, but I have no written, and very imperfect traditional accounts of them. I am apprehensive, however, that my parental stock is different from the family of Clays described by you, as having been established in Middletown, Connecticut. My ancestors emigrated from England, and settled in the colony of Virginia, early, I believe, in the 17th century. My father was born there, not far from Richmond, on the south side of James River. He removed to Hanover county, shortly before my birth in that county. His name was John, and he was sometimes called Sir John Clay (as I have seen in the record of judicial proceedings), but he had no legitimate right to that title. It was a soubriquet which he somehow acquired. He had but one brother, Edward Clay, who removed at an early period into North Carolina, where he lived and died, leaving a large family.

I never knew my father, who died in my infancy, nor my grandfather. Left an orphan, struggling for subsistence and education, and removing, before I reached my majority, to this State, where I plunged first into an active professional business, and then into political affairs, I have had but little leisure to prosecute inquiries concerning my ancestors. And now, I shall so soon meet them in another, and I hope a better state, that I have thought it hardly necessary to institute any. I think it is quite probable that the Clays, from whom we both descended, were originally of the same family, although it may not be practicable now to trace the exact degree of connection. When I was in England, I met with some persons bearing the name of Clay, and from conversation with them, I had reason to suppose that we all sprung from the same stock.

I am very thankful for the assurance contained in your letter, that your family have all done me the honor to entertain confidence in me, and that those of them who are entitled to the exercise of the elective franchise, have voted with the Whigs. I shall be most happy, if, during the remnant of my life, I shall continue to merit their good opinion.

I pray you to communicate my respectful regards to your venerable grandfather, and accept for yourself assurances of the respect and esteem, and the wishes for your welfare and happiness of your friend and obedient servant.

P. S. My father was a Baptist preacher. Mr. Eleazer Clay

near Richmond, Va., was also a Baptist preacher for more than sixty years, and my only surviving full brother is a preacher of the same denomination.

LORD MORPETH TO MR. CLAY.

CASTLE HOWARD, April 17, 1846.

MY DEAR MR. CLAY,—I should hardly have ventured to put the locality of my date into so graphic a form, but I thought that if your Yorkshire housekeeper should be still alive, she might like to be shown the outside of a Yorkshire house. I wish I could show her master the inside. The reason for my breaking in at all upon the repose of Ashland (a repose, however, against the cause of which I protest in common with the sound sense of mankind at large), is to satisfy the request of a friend, who begs me to inquire from you whether you happen to know any thing of a Mr. William Cavendish, whom he believes to have accompanied you upon your return to America in 1815–16 (?), and if so, what befell him, whether he is still alive, and what he is now doing. I sincerely beg pardon for inflicting so much old-dated curiosity upon you, and it is only in respect of having once discharged the office of your letter-carrier, that I can hope to be excused for bothering your post-bag with so uninteresting an inquiry. The last mail brings us the account of your adding to your estimates, but I hope that the whole matters between us wear a more pacific complexion. I must say that I think upon our side there would be a sincere aversion to any conflict between us. I am afraid I must not bespeak your sympathy for our Free-Trade movement. It rather hangs fire during its progress through the Legislature, but I am inclined to believe that the House of Lords will pass the bill. I hope your groves are flourishing round you, and I must particularly inquire after your stock of cattle. We are rather proud of our breed in this place, and sold two short-horned cows last autumn for £300, which in the present times we consider a large price, when good breeds are become so much more common. I would beg to be kindly remembered to all of your family who are good enough to retain any recollection of me. I wonder whether your servant Charles is still with you?

Mr. Denison, whom you may remember as a traveler in America some twenty years ago, is now with us here, and begs to be recalled to your recollection.

HENRY CLAY JR. TO HIS BROTHER JAMES.

LOUISVILLE, May 25, 1846.

DEAR JAMES,—Your letter was thankfully received. The Governor left here yesterday morning. The night before I offered him five companies, and a sixth reported themselves through their officers the same night. I could easily raise the ten. Indeed I have been much complimented by offers to serve with me. When I offered the Governor the companies he told me that he would not be bound by their election, after having given me reason to believe that he would issue the commissions according to their choice.

At present, having done all that a proper sense of duty requires, in having offered my services, I have determined to do nothing more. The rest remains with his Excellency.

Tell Henry Erwin if he desires to go out I would advise him to be elected, if possible, captain or lieutenant of one of the companies. My love to Susan and all our friends.

MR. CLAY TO JOHN S. LITTELL.

ASHLAND, November 17, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letter of the 9th instant, and am greatly obliged by your kind intention to send me a copy of "Graydon's Memoirs." I should receive it with pleasure, and no doubt would peruse it with profit. I saw that you were a candidate for Congress on the Native American ticket. I did not for a moment suppose that in assuming that position you had abandoned any of your long-cherished Whig principles.

There is much in the principles of the Native American party to commend it to deliberate consideration; but as a separate and distinct party, I have not imagined that it could succeed in the United States. Its tendency is to distract and divide the Whigs, for it is not to be believed that the other party, to any consider-

able extent, will unite with the Native American. The other party has profited too largely by the foreign vote to authorize us to expect that, as a party, it will give any considerable support or countenance to the Native Americans. If any modification of the naturalization laws shall ever be effected, it will not be at the instance, or by the co-operation, of the Democratic party.

The political evils which flow from the foreign population are confined to localities, and do not pervade the interior of the Union. Hence I suppose that the principles of the Native American party alone can never form a basis of a party commensurate with the whole Union.

I unite with you in congratulations on the recent signal triumphs of the Whigs. They encourage us to hope for a better administration of the general Government. Such a desirable result I think inevitable, if the Whigs should be wise, and not allow themselves to be intoxicated by their present successes. I look on passing scenes with calmness, though not with indifference. I am often addressed to know if I would consent to the use of my name again as a candidate for the Presidency. Although full of gratitude to my friends for their past confidence and support, I have deemed it most befitting to remain silent on these appeals, answering neither yea nor nay. In my opinion, it is too soon now to agitate the question of the next Presidency. The public mind, I think, had better be left to the full, undisturbed, and undivided consideration of the disastrous measures of the last session of Congress. It will be time enough hereafter, from among the living and the worthy, to select a suitable person to accomplish the changes so desirable in the general administration.

For the continuance of your kind and friendly feelings and sentiments toward me, I beg you to be assured of the thanks and gratitude of your friend and obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE.

ASHLAND, November 27, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—At the moment of my departure from home, which I leave to-morrow for New Orleans, I take great pleasure in the acknowledgment of the receipt of your kind favor of the 21st instant. I wish I could enjoy the satisfaction of your com-

pany on the voyage, not, however, with the discomforts which we experienced in that terrible old hickory last winter.

I congratulate you on the marriage of your daughter. Say to her that I wish her all possible happiness; and that, if she does not enjoy it, so far as her husband is concerned, I must say, "white man is very uncertain."

I congratulate you also on public affairs. I think light is once more beaming upon us, and light, too, from the Key stone, as well as elsewhere.

Your information and explanations are very friendly and satisfactory.

As to the Tariff of 1846, I think our true policy is to go for its repeal, and the restoration of the Tariff of 1842, and nothing else than the repeal of the one and the restoration of the other.

My wife, and all at Ashland, unite in affectionate regards to you and all of yours.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

New Orleans, January 17, 1847.

My dear Son,—I received your letter of the first instant, and was much distressed by the account you gave me of dear little Lucy's health. She is one of the few links that bind me to life, and I should be quite inconsolable if we were to lose her Tell Doctor Dudley that I hope he will exert all his skill to restore her.

Give my love to Susan, and kiss Lucy for me. My health has been generally good.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

New Orleans, January 30, 1847.

My dear Son,—I received to-day your letter of the 19th, informing me of your having purchased thirty tons of hemp, stating that you may purchase sixty or seventy tons more, and asking me to send an authority to join my name in security for the payment of the price. I send the authority inclosed accordingly.

I am sorry to hear that poor little Lucy continues unwell. Kiss the dear child for me, and my love to Susan.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

New Orleans, February 24, 1847.

My dear Son,—I have at last received a letter from Henry, but he says nothing in it about his Louisville business. He is well, but writes in bad spirits, owing to his having no prospect of actual service.

My love to Susan and dear Lucy.

MR. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

New Orleans, March 13, 1847.

My dear Wife,—Inclosed I send two bills (the first number) to guard against any accident that may befall me. I wish them kept by you until my return. I retain in my possession the other two numbers. I have been engaged to argue a case next winter in the Supreme Court of the United States.

I shall leave here on Tuesday next for Natchez, where I shall remain a few days; and I think I shall go up in the Peytona, in which case it will be near the last of the month before I get home.

We are in anxious suspense here about news from the army. Taylor has probably had some hard fighting. Rumor says he lost two thousand men, and killed four thousand; but I do not believe that there have been such heavy losses. Henry, I suppose, was in the fight, as he was with Taylor. If I should get any certain intelligence before I leave here I will write you again.

My love to John and Henry.

WM. PRESTON AND OTHERS TO MR. CLAY.

Louisville, April 10, 1847.

Dear Sir,—The people of Louisville, deeply moved by the circumstances attending the battle of Buena Vista, and wishing to manifest their profound esteem for the brave men who fell on that memorable day, adopted a series of resolutions expressive of their feelings at the reception of the mournful, yet glorious intelligence. A copy of those resolutions have been inclosed to you by a committee appointed for that purpose.

To the undersigned this sad yet grateful duty was allotted of

making the requisite arrangements to bring back to this State the remains of the brave officers and soldiers from this city, who, on that day, died in the service of the nation.

Among those who perished on that sanguinary battle-field, you, sir, sustained the loss of a brave and gallant son—a loss as afflicting to his country as to his kindred. To the city of his adoption he was endeared in life by many virtues, and the sad story of his unyielding valor and chivalric death, will long be remembered and treasured by her sons. We will not venture to dwell upon a theme so painful, yet so full of consolation to a father's heart; our duty is simpler. It is for us to bring back his last remains from the land of the foeman and stranger, that he may peacefully repose in the bosom of his own loved Kentucky, far indeed from the field of his glory, but amid hearts that knew, that loved, that honored him.

It is to ask your permission to bring back to his native State the body of Colonel Clay, to administer the last sacred rites of sepulture, and afterward to erect a monument to commemorate his virtues and perpetuate his deeds, that we address this note.

We remain, sir, with the profoundest sympathy for your affliction, and with the highest esteem, your friends and fellow-citizens.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMANN.

ASHLAND, May 12, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your letter of the 3d instant, and thank you for the friendly expression of your regret and sympathy, on account of the great and irreparable loss which I have sustained, in the death of my beloved son, on the bloody field of Buena Vista. It has been one of the most lamentable events of my life, which has been full of domestic afflictions. Although I feel some consolation in the gallant manner of my son's death in the service of his country, and in the general sympathy which the public has so generously displayed on account of it, the deep wound which I have received can only be effectually healed by Him whose dispensations have produced it.

I approach, at this time, the other subject of your letter under feelings which would not allow me to touch it, but at the instance of such a long, tried, and faithful friend, as I have ever found you to be.

And first, as to the movement in Philadelphia to bring out General Taylor as the Whig candidate for President, which you say is represented to have been made by my advice, and with my approbation. So far from that being the fact, it took me completely by surprise; and most certainly I neither did, nor is it probable that, at any time, I could advise or approve such a movement. Now, it appears to me to be premature, impulsive, and if generally concurred in by the Whig party, must place it in a false and inconsistent position.

I have thought that any serious movement, earlier than next winter or next spring, to designate the Whig candidate, would be unwise. By that time we shall have a pretty correct view of the whole ground, and of what the Whigs may be able to accomplish in 1848.

The war with Mexico is yet in progress. We do not certainly know how it will terminate, nor how General Taylor himself may finally come out of it. In the mean time, it would be very embarrassing to him to be a recognized candidate for the Presidency in opposition to the very party, to the orders of whose Administration he is subject.

Then there is General Scott. Perhaps, while I am now writing, he is in possession of the city of Mexico. Will he create no competition with General Taylor? May we not have two Whig generals in the field of politics? And as the other party may desire the *éclat* of military deeds, may they not bring forward some third general.

As to the inconsistency to which I have referred, it seems to me that the Whig party has been long and deliberately committed against the election of a military officer to the Presidency who had never developed any capacity for civil administration. The election of General Harrison was no departure from that rule; for he was quite as much distinguished in various walks in civil life as he was in his military career. The true principle, I think, is this: that great military attainments and triumphs do not qualify of themselves nor disqualify for the Presidency.

If General Taylor, who is absolutely without any experience whatever in civil administration, shall be elected, I think we may bid adieu to the election ever again of any man to the office of Chief Magistrate who is not taken from the army. Both parties will stand committed to the choice of military men. Each in future will seek to bring him forward who will be most likely to

secure the public suffrage. Military chieftain will succeed military chieftain, until at last one will reach the Presidency who, more unscrupulous than his predecessors, will put an end to our liberties, and establish a throne of military despotism.

If it were highly probable or certain that we must take General Taylor, or submit to the continuance in power of the present dominant party, that would present a different state of things. The question then would be between the perpetuation and increase of corruption, leading certainly to the destruction of the Government, on the one hand, and the ultimate danger of military despotism, on the other. In such a painful dilemma, it might be expedient, as an only resort, to select the General as the Whig candidate. But this ought not to be done but upon the strongest necessity; and at this early day no such necessity is manifest. On the contrary, there is much reason to hope that the Whig party may be able to elect any fair and honorable man they may choose to nominate.

As to myself, after the disastrous termination of the contest of 1844, I determined to submit to my fate, and to remain passive, and I have accordingly so remained. I have never stated to any mortal whether I would consent or not to the use of my name again as a candidate. On that question I have formed no positive determination, one way or the other. If God were to spare my life and my mind should remain in full vigor; and if there were to be such popular demonstrations of a desire to elect me as to leave no doubt of the result, I might consent to my name being again used. But the latter condition is not likely perhaps, to occur, if the former should exist. Up to the battle of Buena Vista, I had reason to believe that there existed a fixed determination with the mass of the Whig party, throughout the United States, to bring me forward again. I believe that the greater portion of that mass still cling to that wish, and that the movements we have seen, in behalf of General Taylor, are to a considerable extent superficial and limited. Such is the fact in this quarter. And even in Philadelphia I have been informed that by far the greatest enthusiasm was displayed, at the public meeting, when some allusion was made to my name.

If General Scott is successful to the extent, which we may anticipate, in Mexico, most probably a party will spring up to bring him forward; and in the collisions which may arise, it is

possible that the Whig public may deem it wise and expedient finally to put aside both Generals, and select some civilian.

I am afraid that you will find this long letter a great infliction; but you must attribute it to yourself, and to the confidence and friendship which I entertain for you.

P. S. I ought to say that I have long and intimately known General Taylor; and that I regard him as an honest straightforward man; but I know nothing of his opinions upon public affairs, except by inference from the fact of his preference of me to Mr. Polk.

MR. CLAY TO MISS TOWLER.

ASHLAND, June 7, 1847.

MY DEAR MISS TOWLER,—I called this morning at Mr. McGowans' in Lexington, to see you, but you had departed for Columbia. My object was to present to you in person, what I now communicate in writing, my cordial thanks for the beautiful lines which you cordially addressed to me, on the death of my beloved son. They are highly creditable to your heart and to your head. The advice you give to restrain my grief for that melancholy event, is very good, and certainly the generous expressions of such sympathy as you, my other friends, and the public have manifested, are calculated to alleviate our sorrows. They place me under great and grateful obligations. But He only, my young friend, can effectually heal such wounds as we have received, by whose inscrutable dispensations they have been permitted to be inflicted. You have felt in early life, the bereavement of an excellent father. May your surviving parent, and your other relatives, be long spared to you, and may you enjoy all other earthly blessings. My warm regards to your mother.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMANN.

VIRGINIA, WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, August 4, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letter prior to my departure from home ten days ago, and brought it with me to this

place. I thank you for the kind tender of your friendly offices, of which, if there should be need, I shall avail myself, with the fullest confidence in your fidelity to the Whig cause, and in your personal regard to me.

I think it even now very manifest that the Locofoco party does not intend to make General Taylor its Presidential candidate; and if it should not, but should designate some other candidate, the condition of popular unanimity, on which alone he states, in one of his late letters, that he will consent to run, will not exist. I think it impossible that the General should maintain silence as to his principles. He must make some public avowal of them, in other words he must say whether he is Whig or Democrat. Such silence could not, I think, be maintained by General Washington, if he were to rise from the dead and consented to be again run for the Presidency. General Jackson was constrained to proclaim his, although he did not afterward conform to them.

But suppose him to preserve silence, and the other party to designate some other candidate, what then are the Whigs to do? Will they not only forego all their objections to a mere military man, as President, but take one haphazard, without knowing whether he holds a single principle in common with them?

I have thought for some time, and continue to think, that it is highly probable that the other party will finally settle down on General Scott, and I think I have seen some indications of this, both in its conduct and in his.

You ask me what is the best mode of conducting the campaign in your State. I should think it best to rely upon the old issues, with the exception of that of a Bank of the United States, which I believe was never pressed in Pennsylvania. There is, 1st. The principle of protection, and the fraud practiced on Pennsylvania by the Kane letter. In further support of this fraud I learned yesterday from the Honorable Reverdy Johnson, that, during the canvass of 1844, when some interrogatories were addressed from your State to Polk, requesting a more explicit avowal of his opinion in regard to the Tariff of 1842, Mr. Buchanan wrote to Tennessee that the Kane letter was working well, and begging that those interrogatories might not be answered, and Mr. Polk accordingly remained silent.

Then there is, 2d. The Mexican war, its causes, the manner of conducting it, and the great National debt which it fastens on

the country. 3d. The alarming increase of the vetos and the abuses of the Executive power—the improvement of the country, etc., etc. These and other topics will readily present themselves, and will be treated by you to the greatest advantage.

It is true, as you remark, that the famished condition of Europe has concealed the effects of the Tariff of 1846; but these will be more and more manifested as bread and other food become there abundant. Already have the prospects of a good crop in Europe led to a decline in the prices of American food.

I shall remain here until Monday next, when I purpose passing through your native State to Cape May, where I desire to enjoy a sea-bath, which I never in my life before had an opportunity of doing. You must not, however, infer that my health is bad. It is on the contrary very good.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

White Sulphur Springs, August 6, 1847.

My dear Son,—I received your letter of the 28th ultimo, with its inclosures.

The latter part of the journey fatigued me very much, but I have now recovered from it. Dr. Mercer and I go to Cape May on the 9th instant, he leaving his family here. I shall return by this route on my way home.

My love to all at home, and kisses for Lucy.

Your letter is the only one I have received from home. Letters may be addressed to me at Cape May until the 18th instant, and afterward to this place.

NICHOLAS DEAN TO MR. CLAY.

New York, August 12, 1847.

My dear Sir,—Three years have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you; not that the abiding feelings of respect and admiration with which I regard you have in any degree diminished, but the fervent hopes entertained by me, in common with millions of your fellow-citizens, were so unexpectedly and fatally crushed by the issue of the last Presidential election, that I have never yet been able perfectly to rally from its stunning

effects, or to gather confidence enough to force myself upon your attention.

A calamity of a different and infinitely more afflicting character has since fallen upon your family circle, awakening the sympathies and calling forth the commisseration of all those who have hearts to feel throughout our native country ;—in these, my dear sir, I deeply and truly participate, and respectfully tender to you, and those dear to you, my heartfelt condolements.

Among the numerous tributes which the gallantry and noble bearing of your lamented son upon the fatal field of Buena Vista have called forth, I have met none more touching in its inception and character than the one herewith inclosed, the production of Frances Jane Crosby, a resident graduate of the New York Institution for the Blind. It was written immediately after the announcement of his fall in that fearful conflict. The authoress but recently recited it to me, and I hasten to place it before you.

The deep, broad current of universal sorrow has forced the barriers that encompass the blind, and awakened sympathies even in their stricken state of darkness and solitude.

I can not add to the tenderness and pathos of such an offering. Accept it, I pray you.

On the death of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Clay, Jr., who fell at the battle of Buena Vista, Mexico, February 23, 1847, *by Frances Jane Crosby,* of the New York Institute for the Blind.*

Lo! on the gory battle-field,
A soldier brave is lying,
Mild is the luster of his eye,
Though he, alas! is dying.

Yet still with feeble hand he grasps
The sword so faithful ever;
Now drops the weapon by his side,
And to resume it—never.

Oh! gallant CLAY, though for thy brow
Its laurels Fame is weaving;
Vain trophies! for thy bosom now
Its last faint sigh is heaving.

Back, cowards! would ye deeper make
The wounds already given?
You, from an aged father's heart
Another tie have riven.

* Miss Crosby has been blind since the age of six weeks.

Intrepid warrior, thou hast left
A deathless name behind thee—
That name unsullied, still shall shine,
Though the dark grave may bind thee.

Thou, by thy General's side hast fought,
Yes, Taylor will deplore thee;
And many a heart that shared thy love
Will weep in silence o'er thee!

E. C. WINES TO MR. CLAY.

The Oaklands School, near Burlington,
New Jersey, August 16, 1847.

Dear Sir,—In the late severe affliction, through which a mysterious but doubtless ever-wise and benignant Providence has called you to pass, I have felt the deepest sympathy with you. And if I have not given utterance to these emotions, it was only because I feared that my condolence would be rather an intrusion upon your grief than any alleviation of it. Having recently seen, however, an account in the public papers of your baptism, whereby you have become a member of the visible Church of Christ, I can not refrain from conveying to you my cordial congratulations on the auspicious issue of your sorrowful bereavement. It was the experience of one of the greatest monarchs and statesmen the world ever saw; it has been the experience of thousands in every condition of life since his day; it has now, I trust, become your happy experience also: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted." The hand of affliction is heavy, but it is because it is filled with gold; the voice of affliction is stern, but its wounds are the probings of a skillful chirurgeon; the countenance of affliction is lowering, but it is the frown of a parent, soon to be followed by the serene and radiant smile of unclouded affection.

Yours, my dear sir, has been a life of incident, of stir, of agitation, of heroic doing and suffering. You have often been placed in positions where your self-possession, your wisdom, your calm energy, and your noble heroism have awakened the admiration of all beholders. But never, on any other occasion, have you displayed so true a wisdom, or appeared invested with so sublime a dignity, as when receiving the baptismal waters, and seated at the communion-table of our common Lord.

I remember well the anguish you suffered a few years ago, under the loss of an estimable and beloved daughter. I remember also your declaration that Mrs. Clay, though deeply distressed, was yet amply sustained and solaced by her religion, and the earnest expression of your wish that you had the same source of consolation, and of your hope that you some day should possess it. From that time to the present I have felt a deep interest in your religious state and welfare, and a belief that you would at length find the treasure you desired—a part in the purchased blessings of the Gospel. And such, I hope, is now the case, and that you find in this the heaviest affliction of your life—the loss of a talented, generous, and chivalrous son—all the consolation which the Gospel is fitted to bestow, and assuredly does bestow, upon all who cordially embrace it. For what can religion be worth, if there is not more in God to comfort us than there can be in the loss of any, even the dearest and most cherished, of his creatures, to distress us?

Can you not pass a day or two with us at the Oaklands, when on your way to New York? We are quite in the country, being two miles distant from Burlington; have an elevated and airy situation, and are surrounded by venerable forest-trees, whose grateful shade defends us, even in the height of summer, from the scorching heats of the sun.

When you write to your son John, be pleased to convey to him the expression of my warm regard and friendship. Mrs. Wines desires to be respectfully presented to you.

GENERAL TAYLOR TO MR. CLAY.

HEAD QUARTERS, Army of Occupation,
Camp near Monterey, November 4, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—By yesterday's mail I had the gratification of receiving your very welcome letter of the 27th September. Rest assured that nothing has transpired, nothing can transpire, to impair the amicable and kindly relations which it has been my pleasure and pride for so long time to maintain with you. Hints, similar to those to which you refer, have been thrown out in letters which I have recently received; but they have had no influence whatever upon me; not one word has served

in the remotest degree, to prejudice me against yourself or your friends, in either personal or political relations.

I fully agree with you in the necessity for more deliberation in the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, and I truly regret that my name should have been used in that relation. It has been permitted with the greatest reluctance on my part, and only from a sense of duty to the country. My repugnance to being a candidate before the nation for that exalted office has been frankly and sincerely made known. Most truly is it my hope that before next November the party may select a Whig in all respects worthy of the confidence of the country. To a mutual friend of ours I have recently made this announcement, asserting my greater desire for the quiet of private occupations, as not only a more appropriate termination to my services as a soldier, and more consonant with my earnest wishes, but particularly proper in reference to my limited acquaintance with matters of civil and national polity. I stated to him specifically that I was ready to stand aside, if you or any other Whig were the choice of the party, and that I sincerely hoped such might be their decision.

The importance of harmony and good feeling among the opponents of the present dynasty, is by no one appreciated more considerately than by myself, and whatever may be the decision of the party, I shall be studiously guarded in this particular, and strive to lend my best endeavors to the preservation of unity.

Permit me to repeat, that whatever representations may be made to me, from any source, conveying any expression of disrespect toward yourself or your friends, or that either entertain unfriendly feelings toward me, be assured, my dear sir, they will be repelled and discredited, as they justly merit.

I am much rejoiced that I have this opportunity to assure you, not only of my frank and full confidence in your friendship and kindly feelings, but that I warmly appreciate your wishes for my own success, and your expressed desire to contribute to it.

With my cordial assurance that what is herein written is dictated by the same candid and friendly spirit, so evident in your own letter, I subscribe myself, most sincerely and faithfully, your friend.

MR. CLAY TO MRS. JAMES B. CLAY.

ASHLAND, November 13, 1847.

MY DEAR SUSAN,—I thank you for your letter, which I should have sooner acknowledged, but that I was a week absent from home, attending the trial of a cause in Anderson.

I send you the last letter I have received from James. I hope you have still later. His trip will, I hope and believe, benefit his health.

I am delighted to hear from you that my dear Lucy is better. May God bless and restore to health one in whose welfare I feel the greatest solicitude.

At your house every thing goes on as well as could be expected. Here we are all well. My best regards to your father and your family. Kiss dear Lucy and James for me.

WILLIAM C. PRESTON TO MR. CLAY.

COLUMBIA, November 28, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your speech* is not only equal to your reputation, but in my judgment even passes what you have heretofore done. The eloquence with which you have expressed yourself gave me delight, while the dignity, wisdom and lofty spirit of patriotism throughout it inspire me with a sort of awe, and fill me with solemn emotions. It is a very noble State paper. It gave me the more profound satisfaction as it had been preceded by rumors of a different character. I can not but believe that it will be of great value to the country, and arrest the fatal policy which is hurrying us to the most disastrous consequences.

GENERAL TAYLOR TO MR. CLAY.

BATON ROUGE, La., December 28, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind and acceptable letter of the 13th instant, congratulating me on my safe return to the United States, and for the complimentary and flattering terms you have been pleased to notice my services, I beg leave to tender you my sincere thanks.

* On the Mexican War, at Lexington.

The warm and hearty reception I have met with from so many of my fellow-citizens, where I have mingled among them since my return, in addition to their manifestations of their high appreciation and approval of my conduct while in Mexico, has been truly gratifying, and has ten-fold more than compensated me for the dangers and toils I have encountered in the public service, as well as for the privations in being so long separated from my family and friends; yet there are circumstances connected with my operations in that country which I can never forget, and which I must always think of with feelings of the deepest sorrow and regret.

I left Mexico after it was determined the column under my orders was to act on the defensive, and after the capital of the enemy had fallen into our hands, and their army dispersed, on a short leave of absence, to visit my family, and to attend to some important private affairs, which could not well be arranged without my being present, and which had been too long neglected. After reaching New Orleans, I informed the Secretary of War that should my presence in Mexico be deemed necessary at any time, I was ready to return, and that a communication on that or any other subject connected with my public duties would reach me if addressed to this place. I therefore feel bound to remain here, or in the vicinity, until the propor authorities at Washington determine what disposition is to be made of or with me. Under this state of things I do not expect to have it in my power to visit Kentucky, although it would afford me much real pleasure to mix once more with my numerous relatives and friends in that patriotic State, to whom I am devotedly attached; as well as again to visit, if not the place of my nativity, where I was reared from infancy to early manhood. And let me assure you I duly appreciate your kind invitation to visit you at your own hospitable home, and should any thing occur which will enable me to avail myself of it, I will embrace the opportunity with much real pleasure.

I regret to say, I found my family, or rather Mrs. Taylor, on my return, in feeble health, as well as my affairs in any other than a prosperous condition; the latter was, however, to be expected, and I must devote what time I can spare, or can be be spared from my public duties, in putting them in order as far as I can do so.

Should circumstances so turn out as will induce you to visit

Washington the present winter, I trust you will take every precaution to protect yourself while traveling from the effects of the severe cold weather you must necessarily encounter in crossing the mountains, particularly so after having passed several of the last winters in the South.

The letter which you did me the honor to address me, referred to, reached me on the eve of my leaving Monterey to return to the United States, and was at once replied to, which reply I flatter myself reached you shortly after writing your last communication; in which I stated, although I had received some letters from individuals in Kentucky calculated, or perhaps intended, to produce unkind feelings on my part toward you, even admitting such was the case, their object has not been accomplished in the slightest degree, and I hope it will never be the case.

Please present me most kindly to your excellent lady, and wishing you and yours continued health and prosperity, I remain, with respect and esteem, etc.

CHAPTER XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1848, 1849.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1848.

MY DEAR SON,—I received this moment your favor of the 10th, and was glad to hear that all are well at home. My cause is not likely to be reached, I fear, for two or three weeks, if it be reached at all. I have not changed my purpose on the subject to which you refer. I have only suspended the execution of it in deference to some friends who fear that bad consequences to the cause and the country might ensue if I were immediately to execute it.

Mr. Jacobs is to be married to-morrow, and I shall go to his wedding.

I send a list of some plants which Mr. Prince has forwarded to me.

I am sorry that you indulge in bad spirits. You are wrong to do so, and I think you have no occasion to do so. You have much to cheer and animate you. More by far than most per sons.

My love to Susan and the children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1848.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter informing me of the occurrence which has taken H. E. Erwin to New Orleans. I am deeply concerned about it; but I can not but think that Mr. Prentiss will not fight him. If he should decline doing so I

hope Henry will let it drop there, without resorting to any measure of violence or denunciation.

I have some hope of getting my cause tried next week, although there is not, I regret to say, entire certainty in regard to it.

I inclose a bill of lading for a barrel of sperm oil, purchased by Mr. Coffin, which I will thank you to hand to your mother.

I adhere to my purpose communicated to you before I left home. I have suspended the execution of it for the present, in consequence of strong assurances that if I take the step now it will be ruinous to the Whig party. It places me in a state of painful embarrassment.

My love to Susan and the children.

MR. CLAY TO H. T. DUNCAN.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter of the 9th instant and I was gratified with the proceedings in Bourbon, of which it gave a full account. I presume through other channels you are advised of the state of public affairs here. I see no prospect of peace at present. Upon my arrival here the strongest appeals have been made to me to take no step withdrawing my name from among those from which a selection is to be made of a candidate for the Presidency. I have been assured that, if I did, it would lead to a prostration of the Whig party, especially in the free States. Then they say that General Taylor can not be supported in his present noncommittal position. Some doubt, if he were to assume distinct Whig ground, whether he could obtain the Whig support. I have suspended any definitive action.

Great surprise exists here as to the hot haste of our Taylor friends in Kentucky. Why is it? I am often asked, without being able to give any very satisfactory answer. What will be the issue of the two Conventions in Frankfort next week? Nobody knows here. After the long period of time during which I have had the happiness to enjoy the friendship and confidence of that State, what have I done, it is inquired, to lose it?

Those Conventions, if they would act wisely, I think, would acquiesce in the National Convention and leave their own delegates to act freely, according to all circumstances.

My suit has been argued in the Supreme Court, and I shall leave this place next week for Philadelphia, where some business takes me.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL COMBS.

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1848.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I received your favor this morning. I have written this winter no letters to Kentucky on public affairs but in answer to letters which I received, and of this description only three. That which you thought ought to have been addressed to you was of that character.

I remain in my passive position in regard to the Presidency. To this course I have been strongly urged. It is generally approved. Whether and when I may change it depends on circumstances. There is no occasion for precipitate action. Mine at least shall be deliberate; having due regard to country, party, friends. If I were to credit all I hear and see, there would be no doubt of my election, if nominated by the National Convention, with my consent; but experience has brought diffidence, and I do not lend too ready an ear to even agreeable things.

I learn from New York that there is not a particle of doubt that, if I were a candidate, the vote of that State would be given me by an immense majority. The Legislature (I mean the Whigs) have had a caucus, in which they passed a resolution, with I believe unanimity, designating me, although not naming me, and excluding our friend General Taylor, though not naming him. Our Kentucky and other friends ought to know what an up-hill business that is of supporting the General in the free States; and yet I lose no suitable occasion to impress on all union, harmony and concord.

I am fully convinced that no preference will be expressed next week in Virginia, at Richmond, for General Taylor; most probably none will be expressed for any one.

I expect to be in Philadelphia the two or three last days of this month and the first week of the next. If I can give any impulse to your business there, I shall not fail to do it.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1848.

MY DEAR SON,—Mr. Adams was striken to-day in his seat in the House of Representatives with paralysis, and, if not now dead, it is believed that he can not live until night. Both houses immediately adjourned.

The court has not yet decided my cause, but as it has a press of business before it, I do not draw any unfavorable conclusion from the delay. I can not lose it.

I shall leave this city the day after to-morrow for Philadelphia on Mr. Shelby's business, and shall be detained there about a week.

Mr. Trist has certainly concluded a treaty with the Mexican Commissioners, which is now in this city. I understand that it cedes the boundary of the Rio Bravo, all New Mexico, and Upper California; and that we are to pay fifteen millions of dollars, besides assuming the payment of the debt due from Mexico to our citizens. I am told that the treaty will be submitted to the Senate for its advice, etc.

I wrote to your mother that I had received the check which you sent me from New Orleans.

My love to Susan, Lucy, and your other children.

JOHN M'LEAN TO MR. CLAY.

CINCINNATI, March 1, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor from Baltimore was lately received at this place, it having been forwarded to me by Mr. Botts.

The manifestations of confidence and affection by your fellow-citizens in your late tour must be gratifying to you, as they certainly have been to your friends. No higher honors could be bestowed than those which you have received.

No one can so fully understand and appreciate the importance of your position, as connected with the future, as yourself; and this knowledge best qualifies you to determine your course of action. Standing in the advance of all your compeers in age and in renown, you owe much to yourself. But your fame is not exclusively your own. It belongs also to the nation. No one friendly to his country could desire a step to be taken or

omitted by you, which might not result, as it would be designed, for the general good.

You can not be insensible to the claims of duty, but your friends have no right to expect from you personal sacrifices. I can only repeat what I said to you in Washington, that if, on a full view of the whole ground, your friends believe, and your own judgment shall concur with theirs, that there exists the highest probability of success, you ought not to withhold your name. But, in all frankness, I will say that you ought not to enter into a doubtful contest. Your fame is of too much value to yourself and to your country to compromise it, in any degree, on a hazardous result.

Political success is no longer a test of merit or qualification. Had this been otherwise, you would long since have been at the head of the Government. If your name shall be brought before the country, with your assent, I shall feel the utmost solicitude for your success.

GENERAL TAYLOR TO MR. CLAY.

Baton Rouge, La., April 30, 1848.

My dear Sir,—Your highly esteemed letter of the 4th inst. was duly received, for which you have my best thanks. It was highly gratifying to me to hear from you, and to learn you had returned to Ashland, after so long a travel during the most inclement season of the year, in good health, which, I flatter myself, you will long continue to enjoy. Your views, as regards our respective chances to succeed to the Presidency at the coming election, are entitled to the greatest respect and consideration, as your opportunities of knowing the opinion of the people generally throughout the country, as regards that matter, are much better than mine can possibly be, having recently made a visit to the seat of the General Government, to three or four of our largest cities, and passed through, into, and along the borders of several of the strongest States in the Union; while I have, since my return from Mexico, for the most part remained stationary at an out-of-the-way place, where I see or hear but little of political movements or matters, save through the newspapers and letters, for the most part written and published by politicians, the editors and writers of the same are sometimes mistaken in their views on the subject of President-making, as other people.

I conceive I am, owing to circumstances which I could not well avoid, placed in rather a peculiar situation, as regards my being a candidate for the Presidency. It is well known to those who had my confidence, that I was very much opposed, when the matter was first agitated in several of the public journals, which was soon after the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, to my name being used as a candidate for that office, which I resisted as far as I could well do so, stating to those around me that I had no aspirations for civil office of any kind; that my greatest ambition was to bring the war we were engaged in to a speedy and honorable termination; that by being considered a candidate for that situation, would have the effect to make the President hostile to me even without his being aware of it, and in such a way as to impair my usefulness in the field, if not to destroy it, as regarded the object I had nearest my heart, which has been realized to the full extent of my expectation; for ever since the battle of Monterey, until I left Mexico, the hand of the Executive was laid heavily on me.

My name continued to be constantly referred to through some of the newspapers, from the time previously mentioned, as a candidate for the Presidency, until the battle of Buena Vista, soon after which I began to receive many letters from some of the first political men of the nation, and from several States, in which they stated that it was in contemplation to bring my name before the country as the Whig candidate for the Presidency, in November, 1848. In reply, I frankly stated my objections to their doing so; among others, that I was no politician, and that it might be considered presumption in me to aspire to that high station, when there were such statesmen who might be elevated to it as yourself, Mr. Crittenden, Judge McLean, and John M. Clayton, and hundreds of others unknown to me, who were, I conceived, much better qualified to preside over the destinies of the country than I was; that you were my first choice, nor did I wish to be in the way of any prominent Whig who might be brought out for that office. To which they replied—some of whom were your warm political and personal friends—that you would not again permit your name to be brought before the country as a candidate, and that they did not believe any other Whig, owing to events which had taken place, was so likely to be elected, in opposition to the party in

power, as myself; and that I owed it to the country to permit my name to be used for said object; that I "could not avoid being a candidate if I would, and ought not if I could." Under this state of things I reluctantly yielded to their wishes. About the same time, I informed a distinguished member of Congress, that the arrangements for the next Presidential campaign were to be made during the approaching session of that body, which would shortly meet; and if, after consulting the members of both branches of the same, it was thought advisable to take up some other individual of the party who was more available, he was authorized to withdraw my name from the contest, and if it was you who was fixed on, so much the better. After writing said letter, I received the proceedings of the people called together in primary assemblies in several of the States, nominating me as a candidate for the Presidency at the next election, and in several instances stating it was understood that, in the event of any distinguished Whig being brought out as a candidate, I would at once withdraw my name; but urging me not to do so, but to continue as a candidate under all circumstances, on the grounds I had taken, which was not to be the exclusive candidate of any party, etc.; and on reaching New Orleans many friends called on me to let it be publicly announced that my name as a candidate for the office in question would not be withdrawn, let who would be in the field, which I consented to, and advised my friends in Washington of my change in that respect, without delay. I therefore now consider myself in the hands of the people, a portion of whom have placed my name before the country, for the highest office in their gift, without any agency of mine in the matter, and if they should think proper to drop me and take another, which they ought to do, provided they can fix on a more available candidate, and one better qualified to serve them, and cast their votes for him at the proper time, and should succeed in electing him, it will neither be a source of mortification or disappointment to me. On the contrary, if he is honest, truthful, and patriotic, I will rejoice at the result. And I can say, in all sincerity, that should you receive the nomination of the Whig National Convention, which is to meet in Philadelphia in June, and should be elected in November, but few of your friends will be more gratified than myself. And should you be unsuccessful, and should it be thought your being a candidate had the effect of preventing my election, it will not

produce the slightest feeling of unkindness toward you, but I will continue to cherish those kind feelings which I have entertained for you for many years, which I hope are reciprocal.

MR. CLAY TO SAMUEL HAIGHT.

ASHLAND, April 15, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received to-day your favor of the 10th instant. Prior to this you will have received my note addressed to the public announcing my assent to the submission of my name to the consideration of the National Convention. It so fully explained my views and feelings that I have nothing to add to it. I do not see how it is possible for any exception to be taken to it.

I concur with you in regretting the course of the "National Intelligencer" in regard to the French Revolution; but I think it ought not to operate, and I hope it will not to the prejudice of the Whig party. The editors expressly disclaim being the organ of that party, and the resolutions of congratulation to the French people have been passed, in both houses of Congress, by almost unanimous votes. My own opinion is, that our sympathies and congratulations were due to the French people for the Revolution which they had effected. In expressing these sentiments, we should not have been committed to the sanction of any future excesses which may be perpetrated in the progress of the revolution, if any such should unfortunately occur. My hope is that the foreign powers, profiting by the folly of their former interference with France, will abstain from all exterior pressure upon her, and that she, profiting by the errors which were committed in the former Revolution, will peacefully establish, without the spilling of blood, a free Government upon the basis of popular representation.

No one can doubt my feelings and sympathies who has any recollection of the course which I took in regard to the Spanish American Republics, and to Greece. While France has my cordial and hearty wishes for the triumphant establishment of liberty, I shall be ready to express the deepest regrets, if the Revolution should take an unfortunate turn.

I request you to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Haight.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE

ASHLAND, May 23, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter of the 19th instant, and I feel greatly obliged by the confidence in me which it evinces. You desire, in the event of there not being a majority of the Whig Convention disposed to nominate me, to know who among the distinguished names before the Convention would be my first, second and third choice. I have hitherto maintained a position of entire impartiality between my competitors for the nomination. It was dictated by considerations of delicacy toward them. I do not think that I ought to deviate from it. To you, as soon as to any friend I have, I would make the desired communication, if I were not restrained by the motives suggested.

I hope that your apprehensions of a stormy Convention will not be realized; but that it will be found animated by a spirit of concord and patriotism, and seeking to do the best it can for our common country.

CHARLES F. ADAMS TO MR. CLAY.

QUINCY, May 24, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—On behalf of my mother and the few surviving relatives of my late father, as well as for myself, permit me to express the sense which I entertain of the kindness expressed in your letter of the 15th instant. Much as the sympathy has been which the painful event to which you are pleased to allude has called out from almost all quarters, from none could it have come more gratefully than from yourself. A kind providence had by a preceding warning in a measure prepared me to expect the blow, but I confess I was wholly unprepared for so deep and general a manifestation of the public regard. Besides the soothing influence of this result to the feelings of those immediately connected with him, I trust, it may have a wider bearing to prove to all that class of statesmen of which you as well as he are a prominent example, that the most vehement opposition of rivals and cotemporaries, though attended with temporary success, avails little to cloud the deliberate judgment of a later time.

Suffer me, sir, most respectfully to reciprocate the good will which you are pleased to express toward myself. I have always looked back with pleasure to the days in which as a very young man I had some extraordinary opportunities of acquaintance with the most distinguished men of the country. I have never been anxious to alloy the impressions obtained in Washington at that period with new ones to be found in the later society of that capital. Had the statesmen of that day continued to guide the destinies of the country, its prospects at this time would have been somewhat different from what they are. But the die is cast.

DAVID GRAHAM TO MR. CLAY.

New York, June 9, 1848.

My dear Sir,—The mis-representatives of the Whig party have at length consummated the greatest act of national injustice it was in their power to perform, in the nomination of a man as their candidate for the Presidency who has rejected the principles and spurned the organization and discipline of the Whigs. The intelligence has fallen upon the honest and true-hearted Whigs of this city, and I doubt not of the country at large, like a clap of thunder; and the execrations of the mass of the party here, at the treachery by which they have again been overtaken, are both loud and deep. For yourself, my dear sir, it will be gratifying to know that this last act of ingratitude has only served to bind you more closely to the hearts of your friends; and I do but justice to their feelings and my own when I say that a signal, and I trust, withering rebuke will be promptly administered to the stock-jobbing politicians for whose selfish purposes this outrage upon us has been perpetrated. To you no station can bring higher honor than that which you now enjoy; and, so far as you are individually concerned, it is not too much to say that an honorable retirement, accompanied with the heartfelt affection of the whole nation, must be more grateful than the turmoil and anxieties attendant upon office, however exalted. But it can not and will not be forgotten, that in your person the integrity and the hopes of the Whig party have been stricken down, and their existence as a party blasted and destroyed. And I trust the day is far distant when a forgiveness will be extended to the base combination between the heartless rivals whom you

have outstripped, both in unexampled devotion to your country and in the favor of your countrymen, and the truckling harpies, who, like the followers of a camp, are bent upon plunder alone.

I know, my dear sir, that you will indulge in no personal regrets at the issue. But at the same time, allow me, as one of your truest friends, as one who from the moment when I was invested with the right to express an opinion upon public affairs, have been a Whig, and a Clay Whig, to beg of you, as an act of justice to your faithful friends, to withhold any expression of approval of the action of this Convention. Your magnanimity will be appealed to by those who have stabbed you and outraged us, as it was when we were betrayed in 1839; but I trust that the appeal will meet with a different response.

In addressing you in this earnest and emphatic manner, I feel that I am taking a great, perhaps an unwarrantable liberty, with you. I plead, as my apology, my integrity as a Whig and my unalterable veneration for yourself. I speak, moreover, the sentiments of your hosts of friends in New York, who only find relief from the despondency which weighs them down, in the proud reflection that they have battled to the last under your glorious and honored name.

WILLIS HALL TO MR. CLAY.

New York, June, 1848.

My dear Mr. Clay,—I write to you in the fullness of my heart, not to condole with you, for though I feel all the personal regard toward you which one man can feel for another, personal considerations are absorbed in those of a public nature.

The Presidency could have added nothing to your fame, and would have detracted much from your comfort.

This Government has had a national existence but little more than sixty years, during nearly forty of which it has been guided by your counsels. Glorious period! You may justly regard it with exultation! During this period you have demonstrated the great problem of the feasibility and permanency of popular government, and almost every nation in Europe, incited by the example, is now convulsed with the effort to imitate it. During this period you have impressed upon the country that high and honorable spirit in our intercourse with foreign nations, that

spirit of conciliation and union among the States which have preserved us at home and made us respected abroad.

The uninterrupted and unprecedented prosperity of our national career has not been the work of accident. Three times, at least, the car of state would have taken the wrong road, if not the road to destruction, but for your guiding hand: once in 1810–12, once in 1819–20, once in 1830–31. Will no emergency of the kind ever occur again? When the next storm howls around us, this people, guilty and appalled, will shrink back covered with fear and dismay at the mischief they have done. You may say without arrogance, "Weep not for me, but rather weep for yourselves!" As the scroll of our history unrolls itself, your times will stand out in bold and bolder relief until it becomes the golden age of some future people, perhaps as unlike the present as the miserable herd that now defile the streets of Rome are unlike the associates of the elder Brutus. Convulsions and sterility immediately and abruptly following a tract of rich and elevated fertility, make the period of your counsels a stand mark to all future time.

We are on the eve of great events. Slavery will now become an immediate and bitter subject of dispute, and will not be relinquished until it is extinguished or the Union dissolved. I feel little disposition to commiserate the sufferings of the slave region. They have brought it upon themselves; they have thrust slavery upon us in the most offensive way; the policy of slavery governs all their actions; their conduct in the Convention will not be forgotten; the means they have taken to render themselves as they fancied more secure on this subject, has precipitated the discussion accompanied with an acrimony which will not tend to a friendly adjustment. The Whigs in this quarter every where are joining the Barnburners, ready to make the slave question the great issue in future. The next Presidential election (four years hence) will turn upon that point. A Barnburner will be elected.

The Whig party, as such, is dead. The very name will be abandoned, should Taylor be elected, for "the Taylor party." The last Whig Convention committed the double crime of suicide and parricide. I loved that party, and whenever and wherever I shall hereafter discover any portion of my fellow-citizens guided by its principles, I shall attach myself to them; meantime I consider myself absolved from all political connection.

It was resolved to have a ratification meeting here as usual. The General Committee met on Monday evening, they were surrounded by more than three thousand people spontaneously collected, and the Committee was compelled to postpone the meeting indefinitely, in hopes that General Taylor's letter of acceptance will place himself more distinctly upon Whig ground. They will wait in vain. The Taylorites begin to think Taylor's election is not quite as certain as they supposed.

I hasten to the sole object of this long letter, which is to assure you of my undiminished and unalterable regard. Mrs. Hall begs me to join her in the expression of these sentiments and the respectful assurances of our highest esteem.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

Ashland, June 22, 1848.

My dear Sir,—I wished much to see you, and hope soon to meet you. I got your letter from Choles' on your way home, and I have received to-day your favor of the 20th with the newspaper you sent me. Judge Robertson has returned, and has given me much information; but there are some points which you can best elucidate.

I shall take no active or partisan part in the canvass, but remain quiet, submitting to what has been done so far as relates to myself. I think this is the course prompted by self-respect and personal dignity. I shall attend no ratification meetings. How can I sanction and approve what the seven delegates from Kentucky did in the Convention, without virtually condemning what the five delegates did? How can I publicly and warmly support a candidate who declared that, in a reversal of conditions, he would not have supported, but opposed me? I am not misled by the humbuggery of the Louisiana delegates. What credentials, what instructions had they? They showed none, and had none.

In November, if I am spared, I shall, with all the lights then before me, go to the polls and vote for that candidate whose election I believe will be least prejudicial to the country. Of course I can never vote for Cass.

It is too soon to form any satisfactory opinion as to the issue of the contest. Neither candidate seems to be entirely accepta-

ble to the party which supports him. And I suppose that party will probably succeed between whose members there will be ultimately the least division and the greatest intermediate reconciliation.

P. S. The Governor very handsomely tendered me the Executive appointment to the Senate, which I this day declined accepting.

MR. CLAY TO A COMMITTEE OF LOUISVILLE.

ASHLAND, June 28, 1848.

GENTLEMEN,—I received your favor adverting to certain reports in circulation in respect to me, with regard to the approaching Presidential election, and requesting information in relation to them.

Recognizing you as among my staunchest, truest, and most faithful friends, I shall ever feel under the greatest obligations to you, and shall be always happy when I can command your approbation, or do any thing agreeable to you. But I should not be entitled to your esteem if I did not continue to act, as I have ever endeavored to be governed, according to my own conscientious convictions of duty.

As far as I was personally concerned, I submitted to the decision of the late National Convention at Philadelphia. It has relieved me from much painful suspense and anxiety, if I had been nominated; and from great vexation, care, and responsibility, if I had been subsequently elected. I shall do nothing in opposition to it. I shall give no countenance or encouragement to any third party movements, if any should be attempted against it. I desire to remain henceforward in undisturbed tranquillity and perfect repose. I have been much importuned from various quarters to endorse General Taylor as a good Whig, who will, if elected, act on Whig principles and carry out Whig measures. But how can I do that? Can I say that in his hands Whig measures will be safe and secure, when he refuses to pledge himself to their support? when some of his most active friends say they are obsolete? when he is presented as a no-party candidate? when the Whig Convention at Philadelphia refuse to recognize or proclaim its attachment to any principles or measures, and

actually laid on the table resolutions having that object in view?

Ought I to come out as a warm and partisan supporter of a candidate who, in a reversal of our conditions, announced his purpose to remain as a candidate, and consequently to oppose me, so far as it depended upon himself? Tell me what reciprocity is in this? Magnanimity is a noble virtue, and I have always endeavored to practice it; but it has its limits, and the line of demarcation between it and meanness is not always clearly discernible. I have been reminded of the course I pursued in the case of the nomination of General Harrison in 1839. But General Harrison was not merely a Whig in name. He was committed and pledged to the support of the measures of the Whigs. He did not declare that he would stand as a candidate in opposition to the nomination of the Convention. He was, moreover, a civilian of varied and extensive experience.

I lost the nomination, as I firmly believe, by the conduct of the majorities in the delegations from Kentucky in Congress and in the Convention, and I am called upon to ratify what they did, in contravention, as I also believe, of the wishes of a large majority of the people of Kentucky! I am asked to sanction and approve the course of the seven delegates from Kentucky, who, in violation of the desire of their constituents, voted against me, and virtually to censure and condemn the five who voted for me!

It seems to me, gentlemen, that self-respect, the consistency of my character, and my true fame, require that I should take no action or partisan agency in the existing contest. If it was between Locofoco principles and Whig principles, I would engage in it with all the ardor of which I am capable; but alas! I fear that the Whig party is dissolved, and that no longer are there Whig principles to excite zeal and to stimulate exertion. I am compelled, most painfully, to believe that the Whig party has been overthrown by a mere personal party, just as much having that character as the Jackson party possessed it twenty years ago.

In such a contest I can feel no enthusiasm; and I am not hypocrite enough to affect what I do not feel. There is undoubtedly a choice, but I regard it as a choice of evils, which I will make for myself in due time, under the influence of the great principles for which I have so long contended. I think

my friends ought to leave me quiet and undisturbed in my retirement. I have served the country faithfully and to the utmost of my poor ability. If I have not done more, it has not been for want of heart or inclination. My race is run. During the short time which remains to me in this world, I desire to preserve untarnished that character which so many have done me the honor to respect and esteem. They may rest assured that I will intentionally do nothing to forfeit or weaken their good opinion of me. Abstaining henceforward from all active part in public affairs, and occupying myself with my private and more solemn duties, I shall, if spared, go to the polls at the proper season, like any other private citizen, and cast my vote as I may deem best and safest for the principles I have sustained and for my country. Seeking to influence nobody, I hope to be permitted to pursue for myself the dictates of my own conscience.

Such is the view which I have of the present posture of the Presidential question, and my relations to it. More light may be hereafter thrown upon it, which I shall be most happy to receive, and if it should point to a different course of duty, I shall not hesitate to follow it.

I address this letter to you in consequence of yours, and from the friendly regard I entertain for you. I should have preferred that you had not thought it necessary to appeal to me. It is manifest from the tenor of my reply that it is not intended for publication. I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO G. W. CURTIS.

ASHLAND, July 4, 1848.

DEAR SIR,—I comply so far with the request contained in your note of the 23d ultimo, as to acknowledge its receipt, and to say that, submitting to the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, so far as I was personally affected by it, I can not give my countenance or encouragement to the use of my name in connection with the Presidency. Abstaining from the expression of any opinion in regard to the nomination which was actually made, I will only observe that Ohio, Indiana, and Massachusetts, and other Northern States, had it in their power to prevent it, if they had chosen to unite upon one whose attach-

ment to the Whig cause was never doubted; but they did not think proper to do so. Ought they then to complain of what was done, upon the ground that General Taylor is not pledged to the support of Whig measures and principles?

I tender my thanks to you for the friendly sentiments toward me which you were kind enough to express, and I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO MISS SUSAN ALLIBONE.

Ashland, July 19, 1848.

If I have not before written to you, my dear Miss Susan, I pray you to believe that my silence has not proceeded from any want of regard to you or from any insensibility to the kindness which you have displayed toward me, in your obliging letter of the 4th March last, and in presenting me with the valuable writings of Archbishop Leighton.

With perfect truth and candor I say that I have rarely ever made a visit to any individual in my life that afforded me higher satisfaction than that which I derived from seeing you. Your physical misfortunes, your resignation to the will of our Maker, your gentle and intelligent countenance, and your interesting conversation, all combined to give to the short interview I had with you a thrilling interest. I have oftentimes thought of it, and have frequently described the touching scene to my friends.

I have looked enough into the volume which you kindly sent me to be convinced that it merits your high commendation of it; and I intend to give the whole of it an attentive perusal.

I am very thankful, dear Miss Susan, for the friendly manner in which you allude to the domestic afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me. I have had a large share of them. Since my return home another has been added to the former number in the death of a most promising grandson, at New Orleans, under circumstances which greatly aggravated our grief. I am happy, however, to tell you, on the other hand, that the sweet little granddaughter, whose case of spinal affection I mentioned to you, is much better, runs about with the free use of her limbs, and we hope will have her strength and health fully re-established. In behalf of her I thank you for the little book which you had the goodness to send her. She is yet too young to read it herself, but I trust that she will be spared to be able

hereafter to peruse it. In the mean time her excellent mother will make her familiar with its contents.

Relieved as I am now from the cares, the troubles and the responsibilities of public life, I hope to profit by retirement in making those preparations for another and better world which are enjoined upon us by our highest and eternal interests. In these, your example of perfect submission and complete obedience will be constantly remembered by me, with great benefit and advantage. Instead of condoling with me, as some of my friends have, on account of my failure to obtain the nomination at the late Philadelphia Convention, their congratulations on the event would have heen more seasonable and appropriate.

I request you to present my respectful regards to your brothers and their families; and accept for yourself my prayers that He who has enabled you so calmly and cheerfully to bear up under the heavy privations which you suffer, may continue His watchful care over you to the end, and that we may both hereafter meet in the regions of eternal bliss.

GENERAL SCOTT TO MR. CLAY.

ELIZABETHTOWN, N. J., July 19, 1848.

MY DEAR MR. CLAY,—I have been most unfortunate in respect to your very kind note to me of May 30, addressed to this place. It followed me to Frederick, Md., then to Washington, a second time to Frederick, thence to Leonardstown (our friend John Lee's post-office), and after lying there long after I had left his hospitable mansion, it has finally just overtaken me here, viâ Washington.

It is now sixty days since I landed on the Jersey shore, with a Mexican disease upon me, and although obliged to travel and to engage in the most vexatious and disgusting work, I have not had the strength to walk three hundred yards at once in the whole time. I am still very feeble, and go to-morrow to the sea shore to gain vigor to meet the same court (nearly) in my own case, at the beginning of the next month.

I left Mexico in the comfortable belief that the choice of a Whig candidate for the Presidency had been narrowed down to two names, yours and that of General Taylor, and that you

would be the nominee. The day after I landed a distinguished public man from a wing of the Capitol, a friend of yours, passing by got out of the train to see me. I stated my impressions and wishes to him, and was astonished to hear him say that your friends in Congress, with four exceptions—Berrien and Botts, but no Kentuckians, were two of them—had given you up on some calculation of a want of availability! I promptly said, if I could be flattered into the belief that my name on the same ticket (below yours) would add the vote of a single State, I might be considered as at the service of the party, and authorized him to say so on his return to Washington, notwithstanding my reluctance to change my army commission, etc. In a day or two I went to Washington, visited Frederick and returned, but I was confined to a sick bed, and, although I saw many political men, I was not in a condition to converse or to exercise the slightest influence. I believe the impression was quite general that I was not likely to recover. At the end of a week, however, I got back, with difficulty, to Frederick, and there the nomination of General Taylor reached me.

If he shall frankly accept the nomination as a Whig, with a pledge to administer the Government on the principles of the party, I shall fervently pray for his success. If not, I shall at least be indifferent.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

ASHLAND, August 5, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received, at the Estell Springs (from which I returned yesterday), your favor transmitting a sketch of Mr. ———'s speech at Versailles, for which I thank you.

How derogatory is it for politicians to attempt to ridicule and degrade themselves in the presence of General Taylor! And how inconsistent is it to denounce party in the same breath in which the Whig party is called on to support the General as a Whig, that is, a party man! It is mortifying to behold that once great party descending from its lofty position of principle, known, avowed and proclaimed principle, and lending itself to the creation of a mere personal party, with a virtual abandonment of its old principles.

I have a letter from General Scott in which he states that he

authorized, on his landing from Mexico, a distinguished gentleman from Washington, to say that he was willing to run as a candidate for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with me.

MR. CLAY TO NICHOLAS DEAN.

ASHLAND, August 24, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received, and perused with lively interest and gratitude, your friendly letter of the 27th ultimo.

The Whig party presents an anomalous condition. Without any candidate who recognizes his obligation to conform to their principles, the members of it are called upon as a party to support the no-party candidate; and I have been urgently and repeatedly appealed to, to indorse as a Whig General Taylor, who, while he adopts the name in a modified form, repudiates the principles of the party! I need not say, that I have done, and shall do, no such thing. Self-respect, consistency with deliberate opinions long ago formed, and my sense of public duty, will restrain me from taking any prominent or active part in the canvass. Whatever I may do, I will not expose myself to any reproaches from those—if there be any such—who might be misled by my opinion. I have submitted quietly to the decision of the Convention, and beyond that I feel under no obligations.

I consider my public career as forever terminated, and I am most anxious to preserve untarnished that character, around which so many warm-hearted friends have done me the honor to rally. I should, I think, justly incur their censure if, after all that I have thought and said (confirmed as my convictions are by observation) against the elevation of mere military men to the Presidency, could I come out in the active support of the most exclusively military candidate ever presented to the American people; one, too, who has forced himself upon the Convention, or been forced upon it. One who declared that he would stand as an independent candidate against me, or any other Whig that might be nominated—a declaration made under his own hand, and which remains uncontradicted by any thing under his own hand, which the public has been permitted to see.

I do not mean to intimate what may be my final vote, given

quietly at the polls, if I vote at all; that will depend upon a view of all existing circumstances at the time; but neither now nor then do I desire to influence any body else.

There is nothing in the contest to arouse my patriotism, or to animate my zeal. I regard the attempt to elect General Taylor as one to create a mere personal party. How such a party may work, I can not foresee; possibly better than that of either of his competitors; but this possibility is not sufficient to excite any warmth or enthusiasm with me. General Taylor has, I think, exhibited much instability and vascillation. He will inevitably fall into the hands of others, who will control his Administration. I know not who they will be, but judging from my experience of poor, weak human nature, they will be most likely those who will have favored and flattered the most.

Standing proud and erect in the consciousness of having faithfully fulfilled all my public duties, and supported and cheered by numberless intelligent and warm-hearted friends in all parts of the country, I acquiesce in the retirement in which I expect to pass the remnant of my life. Some of those friends may censure me for the inaction which I have prescribed to myself during the present canvass; but if they do, I appeal to their "sober second thoughts," or to the impartial tribunal of posterity. I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO HENRY WHITE.

ASHLAND, September 10, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letter, and beg you to be perfectly assured of my undiminished regard and esteem.

Although I believe that the Philadelphia Convention has placed the Whig party in a humiliating condition—one which, I fear, will impair its usefulness, if not destroy its existence—I acquiesced in its decision in not nominating me, and have submitted quietly to it. I have done nothing to oppose its nomination. I have given no countenance to any movements having for their object any further use of my name, in connection with the office of President. Beyond this I can not go. Self-respect and consistency with deliberate opinions long since formed and repeatedly avowed, against the elevation to that office of a mere military man, must restrain me from taking any active part in

the canvass. I wish to leave every body freely to act for themselves, without influence from me, if I could exert any. If I were to recommend the support of General Taylor, and if he should be elected on it afterward, and in his Administration disappoint the Whigs, I should feel myself liable to reproaches.

I regret, therefore, that I can not comply with your request to make a public declaration of my intention to support General Taylor. Without compromising any one, I shall go to the polls when the day arrives, and give such a vote as I think may be most likely to be least injurious to the country.

With my warm regards to Mrs. White and your family, I am your friend.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMAN.

ASHLAND, September 16, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 9th instant, informing me of the movement of some of my friends in New York to bring out my name as a candidate for the Presidency.

I feel under the greatest obligations and the warmest gratitude to them, for the sentiments of attachment, confidence, and friendship which they do me the honor to entertain. And to you, in particular, I owe an expression of my cordial thanks for your long, ardent, and ever faithful attachment to me.

But, my dear sir, after the decision of the Philadelphia Convention against my nomination, I have felt bound quietly to submit. I could not, therefore, accept a nomination, if it were tendered to me, nor do I wish any further use of my name in connection with the office of President.

I never would have consented to the submission of my name to that Convention, but under a conviction that I should have been elected if nominated. I firmly believe now that such would have been the result.

The Convention chose to nominate another, and I have ever since avoided giving the slightest countenance or encouragement to any further efforts on my behalf.

To bring me into the canvass now, would, I think, only have the effect of adding to existing embarrassments, and perhaps of throwing the election into the House of Representatives, at a time when parties are most exasperated against each other. Such an issue of the contest is to be deprecated.

I am glad to hear that you have finally established yourself in your profession in New York. I request you to accept my cordial wishes for your success, happiness, and prosperity.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES LYNCH AND OTHERS.

ASHLAND, September 20, 1848.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received your official letter as members of the (Whig) Democratic General Committee of the city and county of New York, and I take pleasure in answering it.

Never from the period of decision of the Philadelphia Convention against my nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, have I been willing, nor am I now, to have my name associated with that office. I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered to me, and it is my unaffected desire that no further use be made of my name in connection with that office. I have seen, therefore, with regret, movements in various quarters having for their object to present me as their candidate to the American people ; these movements have been made without any approbation from me. In the present complicated state of the Presidential election they can not, in my opinion, be attended with any public good, and may lead to the increase of embarrassments, and to the exasperation of parties.

While I say this much without reserve, I must nevertheless add that I feel profound gratitude to such of my warm-hearted and faithful friends as continue to indulge the vain hope of placing me in the office of Chief Magistrate of the United States. And that I neither think it just or politic to stigmatize them as factionists or by any other opprobrious epithets. Among them I recognize names which have been long distinguished for ability, for devotion to the Whig cause, and for ardent patriotism.

You advert with entire truth to the zeal and fidelity with which the delegation from New York sought in the Philadelphia Convention to promote my nomination as a candidate for the Presidency. I am most thankful to them and shall ever recollect their exertions with profound gratitude.

And here, gentlemen, I would stop but for your resquest that I would communicate my views ; this I shall do briefly and frankly, but with reluctance and regret.

Concurring entirely with you, that the peace, prosperity and

happiness of the United States depend materially on the preservation of Whig principles, I should be most happy if I saw more clearly than I do that they are likely to prevail.

But I can not help thinking that the Philadelphia Convention humiliated itself, and as far as it could, placed the Whig party in a degraded condition. General Taylor refused to be its candidate. He professed indeed to be a Whig, but he so enveloped himself in the drapery of qualifications and conditions that it is extremely difficult to discover his real politics. He was and yet is willing to receive any and every nomination no matter from what quarter it might proceed. In his letter to the "Richmond Republican" of the 20th April last, he declared his purpose to remain a candidate, no matter what nomination might be made by the Whig Convention. I know what was said and done by the Louisiana delegation in the Convention, but there is a vail about that matter which I have not penetrated. The letter from him which it was stated one of that delegation possessed, has never been published, and a letter on the same subject addressed to the independent party of Maryland, has at his instance been withheld from the public. It was quite natural that after receiving the nomination he should approve the means by which he obtained it. What I should be glad to see is some revocation of the declaration in the "Richmond Republican" letter before the nomination was made.

On the great leading national measures which have so long divided parties, if he has any fixed opinions, they are not publicly known. Exclusively a military man, without the least experience in civil affairs, bred up and always living in the camp with his sword by his side, and his epaulets on his shoulders, it is proposed to transfer him from his actual position of second in command of the army, to the Chief Magistrate of this great model Republic.

If I can not come out in active support of such a candidate, I hope those who know any thing of my opinions, deliberately formed and repeatedly avowed, will excuse me; to those opinions I shall adhere with increased instead of diminished confidence. I shall think that my friends ought to be reconciled to the silence I have imposed on myself from deference to them as well as from strong objections which I entertain to the competitor of General Taylor. I wish to lead or mislead no one, but to leave all to the unbiased dictates of their own judgment.

I know and feel all that can be urged in the actual position of the present contest.

I entertain with you the strongest apprehension from the election of General Cass, but I do not see enough of hope and confidence in that of General Taylor to stimulate my exertions and animate my zeal. I deeply fear that his success may lead to the formation of a mere personal party. There is a chance indeed that he may give the country a better administration of the Executive Government than his competitor would, but it is not such a chance as can arouse my enthusiasm or induce me to assume the responsibility of recommending any course or offering any advice to others.

I have great pleasure in bearing my humble testimony in favor of Mr. Fillmore. I believe him to be able, indefatigable, industrious and patriotic. He served in the extra session of 1841 as Chairman of the committees of the two houses of Congress, and I had many opportunities of witnessing his rare merits.

I do not desire the publication of this letter, but if you deem it necessary, you may publish the four first and the last paragraphs.

SUSAN ALLIBONE TO MR. CLAY.

HAMILTON, near PHILADELPHIA, November 6, 1848.

I denied myself the gratification of giving an immediate reply to your kind and most welcome letter, respected sir, because I was aware that the communications of your numerous friends present an almost incessant demand upon your attention; but I did not design to be so very considerate as to have allowed more than three months to pass away unaccompanied by an assurance of my warm affection.

The debility which often renders me unable to use a mechanical medium for the conveyance of thought, does not deprive me of the consolation of expressing my regard for those I love by imploring for them "the blessing of the Lord," which "maketh rich and addeth no sorrow with it;" and for you, dear sir, very frequent and earnest prayers have come into my heart. I do hope God will grant you a double portion of His spirit. I should not feel satisfied if any ordinary measure of contrition, faith, love, and holy obedience were yours. We are commanded to "covet the best gifts;" and it is not presumptuous to expect much

from God, if the merits of our Redeemer be our only plea. Nor would I forget to thank Him for the spiritual illumination He has granted you, nor for the desire you express to consecrate the retirement you are at last permitted to enjoy, to the interests of "another and a better world." It is indeed a better world, dear Mr. Clay. How delightful will it be to be released forever from "every day's support of wrong and outrage, with which earth is filled!" What blessedness to worship God without the intrusion of one emotion opposed to the holiness of His law, or a single wandering thought, and to satisfy the longings of the spirit after knowledge, excellence and love, by the eternal contemplation of Him who is the concentration of them all. To receive all this happiness as the free gift of a Saviour's love, and to attune a harp of thanksgiving with heaven-taught melody, ever swelling louder and clearer notes of adoration as the past and present become more fully understood, and the future hastens on with brightening glory. Oh! this will be to us a better world.

It has often occurred to me that while the believer rejoices that "to die is gain," he ought also to remember that "to live is Christ." I wish to understand the full meaning of this expression. Experience has taught me something of its import, but I hope to learn new lessons every day. One of our homilies tells us "faith is the hand that puts on Christ," and St. Paul assures us "of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God, is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

How can I, who am so sinful and so suffering, be sufficiently thankful that this glorious Redeemer is the portion of my soul? Mine has been a situation of extraordinary necessity, and the fullness of Jesus has been its supply. When my earthly friends sit down and weep because their unwearied attentions can not remove the firm pressure of disease, my Saviour draws me still more closely into the sanctuary of His presence, and my wearied spirit reposes there in peace. But there is an amputation of the heart, caused by the removal of the most cherished objects of affection, which requires the still more tender offices of Him who "came to give the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness;" and in this sorrow also I have been greatly comforted. If I had never known bereavement I could not so fully sympathize with the deep afflictions to which your letter alludes. I am well assured that your susceptibilities of suffering are unusually acute, and I pray that the con-

solations of the Holy Spirit, and the sanctified uses of adversity may be given you in proportionate measure. It may be, also, that the dispensations which have caused so painful a void in your family circle may be the avenues through which many heavenly blessings may be conveyed to its surviving members. It may be your delightful privilege to teach them to consecrate the energy they have inherited from their earthly parent to the glory of their Father in Heaven; and while I condole with my country because she will be deprived of your official services at a time when they seem so greatly needed, I do indeed most heartily congratulate your children and grandchildren that they are permitted to surround you in the evening of your days.

Permit me to say that I do not think you suit the times, dear sir. Expediency has become the watchword of our nation, and your political vestments have never assumed a chameleon hue, nor has the cloak of concealment been wrapped around them. Oh! that we had many Daniel's to confess that "we, and our father's have sinned and done wickedly," and to implore that national judgments may be averted.

The beautiful petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven," is most appropriate at this time of danger, and how effectually will its fulfillment hush into silence the stormy elements around us! Is it not an unspeakable privilege to be the subject of a kingdom which can not be moved?

I am truly gratified to learn that the health of your little granddaughter has so greatly improved, for I feel a deep interest in all to whom you are allied. I shall not soon forget the terms of affection with which you made me acquainted with the character of Mrs. Clay, to whom you will please present my respectful regards.

I think I will be so selfish as to tell you how delighted I should be to receive another letter from Ashland.

My sister, Mrs. Allibone, is my copyist to-day, as I am still unable to attempt a greater effort than the pencilship of a letter. From her, with my brother, and other sisters, you will accept a message of warm affection, accompanied with my earnest prayers that you may ever be enabled to appropriate the assurance, "The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms." Believe me, my beloved Mr. Clay, most sincerely and respectfully yours.

GENERAL TAYLOR TO MR. CLAY.

Baton Rouge, La., November 17, 1848.

My dear Sir,—On my return here a day or two since, after a short absence, I found your highly esteemed letter of the 23d ultimo, for which accept my most cordial thanks. The one referred to, written by you in May last, reached me by due course of mail, and I owe you an apology for not replying to it, which I deferred doing from day to day, under the expectation that certain events would occur which I wished to refer to in my reply, but which were so long in taking place as to induce me to give up doing so altogether. Said letter was entirely satisfactory, as regarded the matter alluded to (and to put an end to the misrepresentations growing out of the same, going the rounds through various newspapers, I at once caused a short article to that effect to be published in "The Picayune" of New Orleans, which may have met your eye), and relieved me from great anxiety, as I believed the course then pursuing by certain individuals touching our correspondence, was calculated, if not intended, to bring about a state of distrust, if not unkind feelings, between you and myself, as well as some of our friends; which, had they succeeded in doing, would, so far as I am concerned, been a source of much pain and mortification to me.

There certainly could be no objection or impropriety in your permitting your friends to read any of the letters I wrote you, who ought not to have made any use of them, for any purpose, without your authority, as there was an implied confidence at least, which ought not to have been violated. It is true, I allowed a few and very confidential friends to read yours to me, nor am I aware that any use was made of them, directly or indirectly, for any purpose whatever; nor was any copy taken of any one of them, and furnished to a member of Congress, or any one else, although I have no doubt you have been informed I had done so.

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I trust I have many devoted personal friends, who, from various causes, were opposed to my reaching the office in question, and took every honorable and proper means in their power, and no other, to prevent my success, and I certainly would never think of censuring them, much less to permit it on my part to interrupt our friendly relations, because they have done what they thought right in opposing my election to an office which they thought another was better qualified to fill.

I beg leave to return you many thanks for your kind invitation to visit Ashland, should I go to Kentucky before you leave for the South; which it would have afforded me much pleasure to have done, and passed a few days under your hospitable roof; but I must forego this pleasure, as it will be out of my power to leave Louisiana or Mississippi for several months, at any rate during the present year; but should you carry out your intentions of visiting the South, as contemplated, and should pass the month of January in New Orleans, I will try and take you by the hand at that time, or during the same month.

Wishing you many years of health, happiness, and prosperity, I remain, etc.

J. T. HART TO MR. CLAY.

LEXINGTON, December 4, 1848.

DEAR SIR,—I hope you will accept this head I send you, which I have finished entirely with my own hands; and also another, which I will finish in a day or two, as a small token of the gratitude and obligation I feel toward yourself and family, who have extended to me so much kindness.

I will call out to see you this evening or to-morrow. With my earnest wishes for your recovery, I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1849.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter of the 27th November, and I was happy to hear of the continued health of Susan and your children, and especially that she had so easy an accouchement. That was the result of her previous exercise and the climate of Lisbon.

I am sorry to hear of the bad prospect of your getting our claims satisfied. I wrote you a few days ago, giving a long account of an interview which I had with the Portuguese minister, etc., about the case of the General Armstrong. In the course of it, he told me that he thought some of our claims were just, and so did the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that they would be paid. If we are to come to any appeal to force, perhaps it will be as well that they should reject them all, those which are clearly just as well as those which are contestable. But, as it would be a feather in your cap, I should like that you would get them all owned, or as many as you can.

The minister told me that the owners of the General Armstrong demanded $250,000. That sum strikes me to be erroneous. If they agree to admit the claim, you might stipulate to have the amount fixed by some commission; or, which would be better, if the owners have an agent at Lisbon, you might get him to fix the very lowest sum which they would be willing to receive, which might not exceed one fifth of the sum demanded.

I mentioned confidentially to Sir H. Bulwer, the British minister, my apprehensions of a difficulty with Portugal, and he said he would write to Lord Palmerston, and suggest to him to interpose his good offices, etc. He told me that a brother of Lord Morpeth was the British Chargé at Portugal. If he resembles his brother, you will find him a clever fellow.

No certain developments are yet made of what Congress may do on the subject of slavery. I think there is a considerable majority in the House, and probably one in the Senate, in favor of the Wilmot proviso. I have been thinking much of proposing some comprehensive scheme of settling amicably the whole question, in all its bearings; but I have not yet positively determined to do so. Meantime some of the Hotspurs of the South are openly declaring themselves for a dissolution of the

Union, if the Wilmot proviso be adopted. This sentiment of disunion is more extensive than I had hoped, but I do not regard it as yet alarming. It does not reach many of the Slave States.

You complain of not hearing from Kentucky. I have the same complaint. I have not received a letter from John for a long time. My last was from Thomas, of the 18th ult. They were then all well.

I am glad to hear that Henry is placed at school, but am sorry that his defects continue to display themselves. We must hope that he will correct them as he grows older, and in the mean time console ourselves that his faults are not worse than they are.

My love to Susan, the boys, and your children.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

New Orleans, January 26, 1849.

My dear Sir,—I met with an accidental but violent fall a week ago, in carelessly descending a flight of stairs, to receive a gentleman who bore me a letter of introduction, and I got terribly bruised. I broke no bones, but it disabled me, for the present, from walking without assistance, and almost from writing.

I received yesterday your favor of the 12th, and to-day that of the 14th. I regret extremely that the use of my name, in connection with the office of Senator, should have created any division among the Whigs, or excited any dissatisfaction with any one. God knows that I have no personal desire to return to that body, nor any private or ambitious purposes to promote by resuming a seat in it. I expressed to you and to other friends, at the period of my departure from home, the exact state of my feelings, when I declared that I could not reconcile it to my feelings to become a formal or an avowed candidate; and that if the General Assembly had any other person in view, I did not wish to interfere with him. I added that, if, nevertheless, the Legislature thought proper to require my services in the Senate, deference to their will, a sense of public duty, and the hope of doing some good, would prompt me to accept the office.

These views are unchanged. According to them, it follows

that I have no desire to have my name pressed upon the General Assembly, and I hope that it will not be presented, unless it is manifestly the free and voluntary wish of a majority of that body. It would be a great mortification to me to be thought to be solicitous for that office, and to be supposed to be seeking it from the reluctant grant of the Legislature. I hope that my friends will act in consonance with the state of my feelings, and not suffer my name to be used but on the conditions which I have stated.

MR. CLAY TO THOMAS B. STEVENSON.

New Orleans, January 31, 1849.

My dear Sir,—The breaking out of the cholera here prevented my meeting General Taylor in this city, as had been expected. I met him at Baton Rouge, but only long enough to exchange friendly salutations, without any opportunity to converse on public affairs.

About a fortnight ago I met with a terrible accidental fall, which, although fortunately I broke no bones, has for the present confined me to my lodgings, disabled me from walking, and almost from writing. To that cause is owing my not having earlier acknowledged the receipt of your friendly letter of the 25th ultimo.

I suppose that I shall be elected to the Senate by the General Assembly of Kentucky, in which case I shall hardly feel myself at liberty to decline, conferred as the office will be without any solicitation from me, without my being a candidate, and with the knowledge of a strong disinclination on my part to return to that body. Deference to the will of the General Assembly, a sense of duty, and the possibility of my being able to do some good, overcome my repugnance. If I go to Washington, it will be with an anxious desire that I shall be able to support the measures of the new Administration, in consequence of their conformity with Whig policy.

There seems to be yet some slight prospect of a settlement at Washington of the Free Soil question; but we shall see.

The cholera has nearly entirely disappeared from this city.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

New Orleans, March 3, 1849.

My dear Son,—I was glad to hear by your letter of the 18th ultimo that you had returned from Missouri. Your journey must have been a dreadful one, but you will find some compensation for it in the profits which you expect to realize.

My health is better, and I can again walk. I hope to reach home toward the last of this month. The weather is now fine here, and I am desirous not to return until the winter breaks.

I have heard that Colonel Allen has discontinued his school, but I have not heard whether Henry is admitted at West Point. I declined going to Washington at the Call Session.

As you were absent, I sent to Richard Pendell a letter on the Emancipation question. As I regret to hear that it is not popular, I suppose that my letter will bring on me some odium. I nevertheless wish it published. I owe that to the cause, and to myself, and to posterity.

I am delighted to hear that dear little Lucy is better. You are perfectly right to take her to the sea-bath, if it be recommended; but ought you not to think of the Arkansas Springs?

My love to Susan and your children.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL COMBS.

New Orleans, March 7, 1849.

My dear Sir,—I received your last letter, transmitting one which is returned. Many thanks are due to you for various communications received during the past winter, and which afforded me much valuable information. I should have before acknowledged them, but for the consequences of my fall, which for a time disabled me from both walking and writing.

The project of assuming the debt of Texas on the consideration of her relinquishment of her territorial claim beyond the Nueces, is worthy of serious examination. The difficulty in the way will be the Free Soil question.

I am most anxious that you should obtain some good appointment under the present Administration. You, I think, eminently deserve it. Whether I can aid you or not, I can not at present say. My relations to the President, on my part, and, as far as I

know, on his, are amicable; but I have had no proof of any desire to confer or consult with me on any subject. Some of his warm and confidential friends, I have reason to know, view me with jealousy, if not enmity. While self-respect will restrain me from volunteering any opinion or advice, unless I know it will be acceptable, public duty will equally restrain me from offering any opposition to the course of his Administration, if, as I hope and anticipate, it should be conducted on principles which we have so long cherished and adhered to.

I hope to reach home, and to see you in all this month, when there will be time enough to talk over all these and other matters.

I did not go to the Call Session, because, supposing that it would be short and formal, and without any serious division, I disliked encountering, in my lame condition, a journey so long in the winter. I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

New Orleans, March 13, 1849.

My dear Sir,—I received your favor of the 3d instant. I concluded not to attend the Call Session, which I could not have done without much personal discomfort.

The Cabinet of General Taylor was not, it seems, exactly as you supposed. Some of the appointments excited surprise. I think that he might have made one of greater strength. I am truly concerned that Letcher was overlooked. I had strong hopes that he would have been appointed, and I thought I had reason for them.

I think it quite likely that you may be right in supposing that neither I nor my friends will find much favor at Court. As to myself, having given no just cause for its frowns, I can bear them without difficulty; but the President will be unwise if he neglects or proscribes my friends. Without them, he never could have been elected.

While I have no desire to go into the Convention, I shall make no decision until my return. I leave this city on the 17th instant, and stopping on the river at one or two places, I hope to reach home about the last of the month.

MR. CLAY TO RODNEY DENNIS.

ASHLAND, April 15, 1849.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 27th ultimo, addressed to me at New Orleans, followed and found me here.

I am very grateful and thankful for the friendly sentiments toward me which your partiality has prompted you to express. You do me too much honor in instituting any comparison between me and the renowned men of antiquity. I am in one respect better off than Moses. He died in sight of, without reaching, the promised land. I occupy as good a farm as any that he would have found, if he had reached it; and it has been acquired, not by hereditary descent, but by my own labor.

As to public honors and public offices, I have perhaps had more than my share of them. At all events I am contented, and now seek for better, if not higher offices and honors, in a better world. That we may both meet there, if we never do here, is the sincere prayer of your friend and obedient servant.

MR. CLAY TO NICHOLAS DEAN.

ASHLAND, June 21, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favors of the 1st and 4th instant. I regret extremely that many of the appointments of the Executive are so unsatisfactory to the public; and still more that there should be just occasion for it. I fear that the President confides that matter too much to the Secretaries, and that they have selfish and ulterior views in the selections which they make. It is undeniable that the public patronage has been too exclusively confined to the original supporters of General Taylor, without sufficient regard to the merits and just claims of the great body of the Whig party. This is both wrong and impolitic.

You tell me that it will be difficult to repress an expression of the Whig dissatisfaction, prior to the meeting of Congress. I should be very sorry if this was done so early, if it should become necessary (I hope it may not) to do it at all. I think there ought not to be any denunciation of the Administration, unless it is rendered proper for its plans of public policy. If before these are developed, the Administration should be arraigned, it

would be ascribed to disappointment as to the distribution of the patronage of Government. It will be different, if, contrary to what we have a right to hope and expect, the Administration should fail to support and recommend the great measures of the Whig party.

As to myself, I need not say to you, that I shall go to Washington, if I am spared, with a firm determination to oppose or support measures according to my deliberate sense of their effects upon the interests of our country.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

ASHLAND, October 2, 1849.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I returned home this day fortnight, in improved health, which, with the exception of my cough, continues good. Levi again left me at Buffalo, and has again returned to Louisville, on his way home, having reported himself there to Mr. Smith.

I received your letter dated at sea, after you had been two days out, and I was sorry to learn that there was so much seasickness in your party. I calculated that you arrived at Liverpool about the time I got home. I found all well here.

Colonel Brand died with cholera about four weeks ago. Johnson, the saddler, has purchased at private sale the whole of Mr. Hunt's land, of upward of eleven hundred acres, at sixty dollars per acre. I think it would have commanded more at public auction, land being on the rise.

You will have seen that Secretary Clayton has got into a difficulty with the French minister. I am sorry for it, and I think that with judgment and discretion it might have been avoided. But your course should be to defend the act of the Executive, if you can conscientiously; and if not to remain silent. The papers will also inform you that the Secretary has also a difficulty with the British Chargé about the Mosquito Coast. I hope it is not so serious as to threaten war.

My crops of hemp and corn are uncommonly fine, and the influx of gold from California, and the general prosperity of the country are giving an upward tendency to prices. Hemp, I fear, will, however, be an exception next year, owing to its abundance.

I suppose you will hear from Louisville. I have heard nothing to the contrary, and therefore presume all are well there.

I inclose a ticket which I received for you inclosed in a circular, similar to one addressed to me, from the American Institute.

Our love to Susan, and kiss dear Lucy and the other children for me.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

ASHLAND, October 4, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,—I saw in "The Commonwealth" with sorrow and regret, the death announced of your son, my namesake. I tender to you, on the melancholy occasion, an expression of my sincere sympathy and condolence. I knew enough of him, from frequent interviews and conversations with him, to appreciate the great distress which the lamented event must have brought upon you and Mrs. Harlan and your other children. I have been, in my time, a great sufferer from the loss of beloved children, and I can fully estimate the grief which you now feel.

Time, and a patient resignation and submission to the will of Him who, having given us our children, has the right to take them from us when He pleases, can only heal the wounds inflicted, and mitigate the sorrows which the bereavement necessarily excites.

I hope that you and Mrs. Harlan will bear with fortitude, and in a true spirit of Christianity, this sad and heavy dispensation.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

ASHLAND, October 15, 1849.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter dated at Liverpool the 27th ultimo, and was very glad that you had all safely arrived, with so little inconvenience from sea-sickness. I hope that your excursion to Paris proved agreeable, and that you were not tempted by its many attractions to run into any extravagant expenditures.

The elections in Ohio and Pennsylvania have gone against the Administration, and, judging from present prospects, I do not see

how it is to be sustained. If, therefore, you do not come home sooner, you may prepare to return on the expiration of its term. I understand indirectly that it is counting much on my exertions at the approaching session of Congress; but I fear that it is counting without any sufficient ground. I intend to leave home the first of November, but not to go to Washington until about the opening of Congress. I expect to pass two or three weeks in Philadelphia.

I suppose that you and Susan hear regularly from Louisville, from which I have heard nothing of any interest. Here we are all in health, and things move on in their ordinary channels. Yesterday (Sunday) Thomas and Mary dined with us as usual. He goes down in a few weeks to his famous saw mill, from which he calculates to make a great deal.

We expect H. Hart and his family here to-morrow or next day to make their farewell visit, preparatory to their going to St. Louis, for which he has made most of his arrangements.

Give our love to Susan and your children and to Henry Clay, and kiss dear Lucy for your affectionate father.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1849.

MY DEAR SON,—I left home the first of last month, which throughout was a most delightful one, and, after passing two or three weeks in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore, arrived here last Saturday, the 1st instant. My presence in those cities excited the usual enthusiasm among my friends, and the customary fatigue, etc., to myself; but I rejoice that my health is good, with the exception of a bad cold, which I hope is passing off. I have not yet seen the President, although I called yesterday and left my card. I have seen Mr. Ewing, and other members of the Cabinet have left their cards. Up to this time there is no organization of the House, which is in a very curious state. Neither party has a majority, and divisions exist in each; so that no one can foresee the final issue. The elections this year have gone very unfavorably to the Whigs, and without some favorable turn in public affairs in their favor, they must lose the ascendency.

I received Susan's letter of the 19th October and yours of the

5th November, and the perusal of them afforded me satisfaction. I observe what you say about Mr. Hopkins' kind treatment of you. He has gone home, but if I should ever see him, I will manifest to him my sense of his friendly disposition toward you. I am acquainted with him as a former member of the House of Representatives. I shall seize some suitable occasion to examine your dispatches at the Department of State, and I am glad that you entertain confidence in your competency to discharge the duties of your official position. That is a very proper feeling, within legitimate bounds; but it should not lead to any relaxation of exertions to obtain all information within your reach, and to qualify yourself by all means in your power to fulfill all your official obligations. How do you get along without a knowledge of the French language? Are you acquiring it?

I have heard from home frequently since I left it. John had taken a short hunt in the mountains, but returned without much success. Thomas had gone down the Ohio to see about the saw mill, and is still there. All were well. Dr. Jacobs is now here from Louisville. His brother with his wife have gone to Missouri, where he has purchased another farm. You have said nothing, nor did Susan, about Henry Clay or Thomas Jacobs.

Give my love to Susan and all your children, and to the boys. I will write to her as soon as I am a little relieved from company, etc.

I hope you will adhere to your good resolution of living within your salary. From what you state about your large establishment, I am afraid that you will exceed that prudent limit. How did your predecessor in that particular? I believe he was not a man of any wealth.

MR. CLAY TO MRS. JAMES B. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1849.

MY DEAR SUSAN,—I received and read with great pleasure your letter of the 19th of October. All its details of information were agreeable to me, and I hope you will continue to write to me and to communicate every thing, the minutest circumstance concerning yourself or your dear family. I have taken apartments at the National Hotel (a parlor and bed-room adjoin-

ing), for the winter. I have an excellent valet, a freeman, and I am as comfortable as I can be. No advance has been yet made in Congress, in the public business, owing to the House, from its divided condition, being yet unable to elect a Speaker. When that will be done is uncertain; but I suppose from the absolute necessity of the case there will be, before long, one chosen.

I have been treated with much consideration by the President and most of his Cabinet; but I have had yet no very confidential intercourse with the President. I dined with him this week and I have been invited to dine with two members of the Cabinet, but declined on account of a very bad cold. Mr. Clayton sent me James' diplomatic note to the Portuguese minister on the case of the General Armstrong, with the inclosed note from himself. James' note has been well spoken of by the Attorney-General to me, and I think it creditable. There are some clerical inaccuracies in it, which ought to be avoided in future copies of his official notes. James might have added, in respect to the practice of impressment, that "the Portuguese Secretary, in volunteering a sanction of it, has extended the British claim, now become obsolete, beyond any limit to which it was ever asserted by Great Britain herself, she never having pretended that she could exercise the practice within the Territorial jurisdiction of a third or neutral power, or any where but on the high seas or in her own ports."

I understood from Clayton that it was intended by the President to submit to Congress the conduct of the Portuguese Government, without recommending, at present, any measure of coercion. It is desirable to get the answer to James' note, as soon as practicable, if one be returned.

I have heard from Ashland as late as the 10th instant. All the whites were well; but there had been a number of cases of small-pox in Lexington, and one of our black men had caught it, but he was getting well. Think of your present enjoyment of a delightful climate and tropical fruits, when there fell at Lexington on the 10th instant, a snow six or eight inches deep!

Your brother, the Doctor, has returned to Louisville. You said nothing in your letter to me about Thomas, Henry Clay, or my dear Lucy, and your other children. Is Henry going to school and where?

I believe I did not mention in my former letters to James that Lucretia Erwin has determined to take the black vail.

I send herewith a letter from Mary Ann's husband. My love to James and to all the family.

MR. CLAY TO LESLIE COMBS.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 17th instant, and thank you for its details. It seems that I have lost my negro man by the small-pox. I hope the measures taken will arrest its progress.

My object in writing you now is one of great importance, and I wish you to lead off in it. It will do the country good, and do you good.

The feeling for disunion among some intemperate Southern politicians, is stronger than I hoped or supposed it could be. The masses generally, even at the South, are, I believe, yet sound; but they may become influenced and perverted. The best counter-action of that feeling is to be derived from popular expressions of public meetings of the people. Now, what I should be glad to see, is such meetings held throughout Kentucky; for, you must know, that the disunionists count upon the co-operation of our patriotic State. Can't you get up a large powerful meeting of both parties, if possible, at Lexington, at Louisville, etc., to express, in strong language, their determination to stand by the Union? I hope the Legislature, and the Convention also, if it has not adjourned, may do the same. If you remain silent and passive, there is danger that the bad feeling may yet reach you. Now is the time for salutary action, and you are the man to act. I inclose some resolutions, which, or some similar to them, I should be happy to see adopted.

Prudence and propriety will suggest to you, that too free a use of my name should not be made in getting up this movement. You well know the persons to consult with; and I wish you would keep me advised of what you do.

[This advice was acted on and carried out.]

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1849.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I received a letter from you while you were with Henry Wilkins, at your saw-mill, but none since. I expected to have heard of your return home, and to have gotten a letter from you, ere now; but I suppose that you have been detained below longer than you expected. I shall be glad to hear from you, the prospects of your mill, etc.

I am afraid that your mother and John have had much trouble and anxiety at Ashland. The loss of my man by the small-pox, and the fear of its spreading must have given them much uneasiness. It has become necessary to purchase or hire two additional hands for the farm. I should prefer the latter, and I have so written to John. I wish you would give him all the assistance you can in procuring them. His mill, too, has got out of order; but I hope that he has been able to get a millwright to repair.

Give my love and the compliments of the season to Mary and the children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

WASHINGTON, December 28, 1849.

MY DEAR WIFE,—There is a bundle of papers in my office up stairs, inclosed in a pasteboard paper, and tied up with tape, containing the letters from General Taylor to me. Among them is one from him to me, dated at Monterey, in Mexico, I think, in September, 1847. He and I differ about the contents of that letter; and I wish you would find it, and get Thomas to make and send me a neat copy of it, and put up the original back again where you find it.

I am still staying at the National Hotel, where I have a good parlor and bed-room, for which and my board I pay thirty dollars per week. The British Minister occupies rooms near mine, and I yesterday dined with him. He has his wife with him, a niece of the Duke of Wellington, a plain, but sensible person.

I have dined with the President, but declined to dine with Clayton and Reverdy Johnson, on account of a bad cold. These

people are all civil with me, but nothing more. From every body, of both parties, I receive friendly attentions and kind consideration.

My love to John.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1849.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I received your letter, communicating an account of Susan's confinement, and I was delighted to hear that she had given birth to a son, with so little of pain and suffering. I hope that she has continued to do well, and that the new comer has also been hearty. In the fine climate where you are, I trust that all your family enjoy good health.

I hear from home, but not as often as I could wish.

After three weeks, Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, a Democrat, was elected Speaker, and it was so much more important that the House should be organized than that whether Whig or Democrat should be chosen, that I was glad an election was made. Nothing of importance has yet been done in Congress.

The Portuguese Minister called on me to-day, and I had a long, long interview with him, both on matters personally relating to you, and on public affairs, the latter, of course, confidentially.

He tells me that you have a fine house and a delightful situation on the Tagus, with a beautiful prospect, etc., but that they made you pay too much rent for it.

I endeavored to impress him very seriously about our claims on Portugal, and that their rejection might lead to very grave consequences. I authorized him to communicate what I said to him to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He read to me a very ingenious and plausible argument in the case of the General Armstrong, but I told him that I thought it only ingenious and plausible, and that I thought the American claim was well founded. One of his points was that the General Armstrong began the conflict. To which I replied that the British boats approached the Armstrong in hostile array; and that, when hailed, refusing to avow whether their purposes were amicable or hostile, the Armstrong was not bound to wait until they struck the first blow, but, being authorized to conclude that their purpose was to board and capture her, she had a right to defend herself and

anticipate the fall of the blow. Exactly as, when an assault is made on a man, not yet followed by a battery, he is not bound to await the battery, but may defend himself forthwith.

As to the weakness of Portugal, since the treaty of Methuen, she has been an ally, and somewhat dependent on Great Britain. Her feelings and sympathies were with the British, and against the Armstrong. She not only did not protect the Armstrong, which as a neutral power she ought to have done, but she did nothing to repel the British violation of her jurisdiction. She did worse; when the crew of the Armstrong was brought on shore, she (Portugal) suffered and connived at their being mustered by, or in presence of, British officers, that they might select from the array those whom they chose to consider British seamen! Never was such an indignity before offered! Never before or since did Great Britain ever attempt to exercise her pretended right of impressment within the jurisdictional limits of a neutral or third power, or any where but in her own ports, or on the high seas.

The Portuguese Minister cited certain provisions of our treaty with Great Britain of 1794, and other treaties, making provision for the case of captures within the waters of the respective parties by a belligerent of either of them, etc. To all which I replied, that those treaties took the case from without the operation of the general public law, but did not affect the condition of powers (of which Portugal was one) having no such treaties with us; that as to these powers, the national law furnished the rule; and that, in cases like the Armstrong, that rule required either protection or indemnity. Protection had not been afforded, and indemnity was therefore justly due.

My manner was intentionally very earnest; and I sought to impress the Minister with the belief I entertain, that if satisfaction of our claims be withheld, it will be sought for by coercion. And I told him that I should be grieved if we had any war with Portugal, especially when my son was the accredited representative of the United States at Lisbon. I told him that I hoped he would impress his Government with the gravity of existing circumstances. He was hurt at the reference in the President's Message to this affair; but I informed him that I had reason to believe that, at one time, it was contemplated to refer to it much more seriously, and I supposed this had not been done in consequence of a hope entertained that your dispatches might

soon bring the welcome intelligence that our claims had been admitted and provided for.

He spoke of a proposition before the Portuguese Cortes to elevate the grade of the mission to this country. I told him that the adjustment of our claims would be an agreeable, if not indispensable preliminary to a similar elevation of the rank of our Minister to Portugal, etc.

I presume that they will send you, from the Department of State, the President's Message, and all other public documents.

My love to Susan, to dear little Lucy, and all your children, and to H. Clay, and Thomas.

CHAPTER XIV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1850, 1851, 1852.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, January 8, 1850.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I received your favor of the 2d instant, and I was glad to learn from it that you had placed your pecuniary affairs on a satisfactory footing; but I hope that you had not agreed to pay to Mr. Hart exorbitant interest. You tell me that, not wanting the check I sent you for $450, you handed it to R. Pindell to deposit the amount to my credit with the B. Bank. I wish you would see that it is done, and let me know the fact.

I am greatly concerned about your poor mother. I am afraid that she has too much suffering and trouble for one person to bear. John promised me to do all in his power to promote her comfort and happiness. I wish you and Mary would do all in your power to lighten her burdens as much as possible. I do not think that I will leave her again another winter.

I wrote yesterday to John to send our mules to Greensboro', in Georgia, where I have a prospect of a good sale of them. Indeed, I consider them all already engaged at fair prices. I wish you would assist him in getting them off. It would be well to have them washed. And I desire the person in whose charge they may be placed should inform me, from time to time, as he makes progress on the journey.

I am very sorry that John has so much trouble in hiring slaves. You will, of course, continue to assist him; and I hardly know what advice to give from this place. He and you must be the best judges, being on the spot. If there be no better alternative, I suppose that I shall be obliged to purchase one or two young men, if good ones can be bought.

Give my love to Mary and your children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, January 12, 1850.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I received a letter from you, inclosing a copy of a letter from General Taylor to me, dated at Monterey, in November, 1847. It was the copy I wanted. I was only mistaken as to its date.

I also received the letter for Henry Clay, jun., and I have forwarded it to him.

We have a Mayday to-day.

MR. CLAY TO GENERAL COMBS.

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 15th, and I previously received other favors. I do not write often, because really I have nothing positive to communicate, and I have neither time nor inclination to write merely speculative letters.

Every thing here is uncertain—the Slavery question in all its bearings, California, New Mexico, Texas, etc. Of course, provision for your debt, and all other debts of Texas, is among the uncertain things.

My relation with the President and his Cabinet is amicable, but not remarkably confidential with them all. I have neither sought nor declined confidential intercourse. I do not go out at night, and in the day time both they and I are too much engaged to see much of each other.

Are you not pushing subscriptions to railroads too far? We want one to the Ohio river; two would be better, and three better yet. But we ought not to go too fast.

I am awaiting with anxiety for popular expressions in Kentucky in favor of the Union, let what come that may. Is there not danger from delay that the contagion of disunion may seize you?

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—If I have not written to you often, it is because of my perpetual involuntary engagements, and because I

have really nothing to write about of a practical nature, and I don't like indulging in speculation. Slavery here is the all-engrossing theme; and my hopes and my fears alternately prevail as to any satisfactory settlement of the vexed question. I have been anxiously considering whether any comprehensive plan of adjustment can be devised and proposed to adjust satisfactorily the distracting question. I shall not, however, offer any scheme unless it meets my entire concurrence.

I do not know whether any thing will be done about the Marshall in Kentucky. All our Whig delegation concurred in the propriety of a change; but when we came to designate the man, there was unfortunately much division. The Executive may not, under these circumstances, deem it expedient to remove the present incumbent.

My relations to the President are civil and amicable, but they do not extend to any confidential consultations in regard to public measures. I am, etc.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMANN.

WASHINGTON, February 2, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor, and I am very glad to find that my movement to compromise the Slavery question is approved. The timid from the North hesitate, and the violent from the South may oppose it, but I entertain hopes of its success. From another quarter (the Administration) there may be a gentle breeze of approbation.

I shall need, therefore, popular support. Large public meetings (one at New York especially), indorsing my plan substantially, would do much good. Perhaps the last of next week or the week after may be early enough.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMAN.

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 12th inst. I am glad to hear of the contemplated popular movement in the city of New York, on the subject of the questions concerning slavery which are producing so much unhappy division and

distraction. It will do much good, if it be large, imposing, and be attended without distinction of party. But I must think that its beneficial effects will depend much upon its being conducted and regarded as a local and spontaneous assemblage, without any ground for the imputation of its being prompted from any exterior source. And I therefore think it would be best that there should not be any distant intervention from Congress or from any remote quarter. It would indeed be very difficult, putting that consideration aside, to prevail upon members of Congress, at the moment of so much interest and excitement, to quit Congress and repair to New York to address the meeting. At all events, motives of delicacy and propriety would restrain me from addressing any member of Congress to leave his official position with such purpose. I should hope that it was not necessary, and that gentlemen from New York, the fresher from the masses the better, could be induced, from patriotic considerations, to attend and address the meeting.

My accounts of the reception of my scheme of adjustment and accommodation of the slavery questions are encouraging. There is some holding back in each quarter, from a purpose of not committing itself, until the views of the other are known. But, in spite of this reserve, there are outbreaks of approbation and sanction of the scheme. And although I can not positively say so, I entertain strong hopes that it will furnish the basis of concord and a satisfactory accommodation.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1850.

MY DEAR SON,—I have been so excessively occupied that I have written less to you than I wished. Henry Clay came safely to me, and I have placed him, for the present, at the Georgetown College, where he seems contented.

Nothing has occurred since I last wrote to you on your Portuguese affairs. And I presume that no communication will be made to Congress in respect to them, until we settle, if we ever do settle, the Slavery subject. On this subject I made a speech, and offered a plan of compromise, of which I send you a copy. The speech has produced a powerful and salutary effect in the

country and in Congress. Whether the plan will be adopted or not remains to be seen. I think if any is finally adopted it will be substantially mine.

The Kentucky Legislature has passed moderate resolutions, given me no instructions, and refused to be represented in the Nashville Convention. All this is well.

My relations to the Executive are civil but not very cordial or confidential. There has been much talk all the session about changes in the Cabinet, and the retirement of Mr. Clayton especially. I am inclined to think that there is some foundation for the rumors.

All are well at home.

My love to Susan, Lucy and the rest of the children.

D. KEYES AND OTHERS TO MR. CLAY.

CLINTON, MICH., March 8, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—We are humble individuals firmly attached to the Democratic faith and the Democratic party, consequently can not indorse many things in your political creed.

But, sir, with us the preservation and harmony of our beloved Union are far above all party considerations, and we rejoice at your present position in the United States Senate, feeling that your eminent abilities and patriotic devotion to the Union are not only the property of Kentucky, but of the whole Union.

Please accept our heartfelt thanks for your conciliatory resolutions, and for the masterly manner in which you have supported and maintained them.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1850.

MY DEAR JAMES,—I have just received your favor of the 8th ultimo. I suppose that the bad state of things here has prevented Clayton from writing to you, and probably prevented the Executive from calling the particular attention of Congress to Portuguese affairs.

You will do well, if any arrangement can be effected of any of our claims, to obtain the written concurrence of the agents of the claimants, if they have any agents near you. And if none,

and a real doubt and difficulty occur, not covered by your instructions, you had better take the matter *ad referendum* to your own Government.

We are still in the woods here, on the Slavery question, and I don't know when we shall get out of them. Bad feelings have diminished, without our seeing, however, land. All other business is superseded or suspended. I do not absolutely despair of a settlement on the basis of my resolutions.

My information from home is good. All are well there. Thomas continues to be encouraged by the prospects of his saw-mill, and other prospects.

Tell Susan that I read her letter with great interest, and I have sent it to her mother. Her interview with the Queen, with all its attending circumstances, was quite imposing. As her health is so good at Lisbon, I do not think that you should be in a hurry to return home, although whenever you do come we shall be most happy to see you. Henry Clay, jr., remains at the Georgetown College.

I have seen a good deal of Sir Henry Bulwer and his lady, both of whom are intelligent and agreeable. He promised me, as I believe I informed you, to write to Lord Palmerston on our affairs with Portugal.

Give my love to Susan, to Lucy and all the children. Tell Susan that I will write to her when I can.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

WASHINGTON, March 16, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been very thankful to you for the information you have, from time to time, communicated to me during the session of Congress. While on the other hand you have found me an inattentive correspondent. My apparent neglect proceeded merely from the cause that I had nothing certain or definite to communicate.

The all-engrossing subject of slavery continues to agitate us, and to paralyze almost all legislation. My hopes are strong that the question will ultimately be amicably adjusted, although when or how can not be clearly seen.

My relations to the Executive are civil but cold. We have very little intercourse of any kind. Instead of any disposition

to oblige me, I feel that a contrary disposition has been sometimes manifested. In the case of a Marshal for our State, four of the Whig members, of which I was one, united from the first in recommending Mr. Mitchell. Two others of them (making six) informed the Secretary of the Interior that they would be satisfied with Mr. Mitchell; yet Speed was nominated, and his nomination is now before the Senate. It was the act of the President, against the advice of Ewing.

I have never before seen such an Administration. There is very little co-operation or concord between the two ends of the avenue. There is not, I believe, a prominent Whig in either House that has any confidential intercourse with the Executive. Mr. Seward, it is said, had; but his late Abolition speech has, I presume, cut him off from any such intercourse, as it has eradicated the respect of almost all men for him.

I shall continue to act according to my convictions of duty, co-operating where I can with the President, and opposing where I must.

I congratulate you on your appointment as one of the Revisers.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1850.

MY DEAR SON,—I was at the Department of State yesterday, and some of your last dispatches were shown me, and important instructions to you were also read to me. These instructions are to be sent to you in duplicate, one copy by the mail, and the other copy through Commodore Morgan, who is to proceed to Lisbon in one of the ships of the line, and to deliver to you the copy which he bears. He is then to await your orders. It is not understood that you are to act finally on these instructions until the arrival of the Commodore, but that you should, in the mean time, go on with the negotiation for our claims, and conclude, if you can, a convention for their payment.

This course of proceeding will impose on you a heavy responsibility, and you should act with great care, caution, and discretion. If you could prevail on the Portuguese Government to pay a sum in block, or in gross, for the amount and in full satisfaction of all our claims on that Government, it might save its honor in contesting the Armstrong case. It might stipulate to

pay a specified sum, and leave the distribution of it, among the claimants, to our Government. I do not know whether you have a knowledge of all the claims and the means of fixing on their just amount. I was surprised to hear at the Department that it was much greater than I had supposed. I would not insist upon extravagant or extreme allowances. I should think that if the owners of the Armstrong got $50,000 they might be satisfied.

If, after the arrival of Commodore Morgan, and after you have ascertained that no arrangement of our claims can previously be made, the Portuguese Government should persist in refusing to do us justice, as I understood the instructions, you are to notify that Government of your purpose to leave Lisbon, demand your passports, and come away. The Commodore is not to employ force, which would be an act of war which the President has no power to authorize.

I suppose that this measure of sending a public vessel into the port of Lisbon has been adopted upon your advice, at least in part. I hope it may succeed; but if the Portuguese Government has the promise of British succor, it is not so likely to be successful. In the present distracted state of this country, and the weak condition of the Administration in Congress, it is much to be feared that your departure from Lisbon without the settlement of our claims, after the contemplated display of naval force, will not be followed up by the employment of the coercion which the serious steps you are authorized to take would seem to require. Hence the great importance of an amicable settlement if one can be made. And hence also I think our claims should be brought down to their minimum amount.

If your negotiation should finally fail, I suppose that we may see you back in the United States before the close of this year.

My last accounts from home represented all well. Give my love to Susan and the children.

MR. CLAY TO JAMES HARLAN.

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 15th instant. What you have stated, in answer to those who have inquired of you, whether under any contingency I would consent to be a

candidate for the Presidency in 1852, is pretty much what I should have said myself, if I said any thing; but I have great repugnance to saying any thing about it. It would be great folly in me, at my age, with the uncertainty of life, and with a recollection of all the past, to say now that I would, under any contingences, be a candidate. I can scarcely conceive any, there are none in the range of probability, that would reconcile me to the use of my name. I have already publicly declared that I entertained no wish or expectation of being a candidate; and I would solemnly proclaim that I never would be, under any circumstances whatever, if I did not think that no citizen has a right thus absolutely to commit himself.

We can not yet see clearly how or when our slavery difficulties are to be settled.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1850.

MY DEAR SON,—I received together, to-day, your two favors of the 15th and 28th ultimo. I am obliged to you for the articles you have shipped for your mother and me. I shall give directions about the pigs, but I am afraid there will be great difficulty in getting them home. You can not ship home any Port wine, without paying duties here. It must come back with you, and as a part of your luggage it will not be liable to duty. I should be glad to get six or eight dozen.

I have no doubt that you may return at the end of the year, if you wish it. Whether you do so or not ought to depend on your estimate of what will most conduce to the health and happiness of your family and yourself. I should be sorry if you allowed your expenses to exceed your salary. Public functionaries are too apt to think themselves more bound than they really are to dispense hospitality. He acts wisest who limits himself to his salary.

My last letter and the dispatches from Government will have apprized you that a display of naval force is to be tried as an experiment in aid of your negotiations. If it fail to induce the Portuguese Government to pay our claims, you may have to return even sooner than you wish. I suppose it will not reach the port of Lisbon before May.

The Senate confirmed your nomination to-day as soon as it was taken up, and without any opposition. At no time was there danger of any.

I wish you were honorably and safely through your negotiations. The employment of a naval force imposes on you a delicate and heavy responsibility, of the success of which I am more anxious because I understand you advised it. You may be officially interrogated as to the object of the presence of such a force. In that case, you will pursue your instructions, and I suppose have to say that the ship is intended to take you away, if our claims are not adjusted. Commodore Morgan is a particular friend of mine and a very clever fellow. You may tell him all about Yorkshire, his pet, etc.

I have got through the winter better than I expected, but I find the colds of this month very bad.

I am glad to hear that you are on good terms with the Foreign Minister. Certainly it would be a good arrangement to get them to recognize the justice of the Armstrong claim and leave the amount to arbitration; but that they won't agree to.

Give my love to Susan, dear Lucy, and your other children. All well at home when I last heard.

I believe I mentioned the death of your uncle Porter in Arkansas, in February.

MR. CLAY TO S. A. ALLIBONE.

WASHINGTON, May 10, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—Accept my cordial although tardy thanks for your friendly note of the 16th ultimo, with its inclosure of precious old newspapers. My public engagements will explain and excuse me, I hope, for not having earlier made this acknowledgment.

I pray you to present my warm regards to your family and to your sister, and to assure her that I often think of her amid all my occupations.

JAMES B. CLAY TO HIS FATHER.

LISBON, May 26, 1850.

MY DEAR FATHER,—You can not imagine in what a state of uncertainty, uneasiness, and expectation, we have been during

this entire month. I had been informed by Mr. Clayton that it was the opinion of the Secretary of the Navy that the ship from the Mediterranean, with my final instructions, would reach here by the 1st of this month, and it is now nearly the last, and it has not arrived. I have seen by the English papers that the storeship Erie, which, I presume, took Commodore Morgan his orders, was lying, with the commodore, in the harbor of Naples, on the 27th last month, in fifteen days after he ought to have been here; why he is not, God only knows. I have been constantly uneasy for fear that his non-arrival might prejudice the settlement of our affairs; and if this Government had a grain of common sense, it would have done so very much. Their true policy, having determined not to pay, was most certainly to offer an arbitration of all the claims, and I have been every instant fearing that such an offer would be made; a rejection of it, which I would have to make, would, of course, have put us in a worse position before the world.

The English Chargé, Mr. Howard, the brother of the Earl of Carlisle, told me the other day, that Mr. Bulwer had written to Lord Palmerston, as he promised you, to advise these people to pay all the claims which were just, and to offer to arbitrate the others; and I presume he did so, for Mr. Howard told me, at the same time, that Count Fayal had informed him that he had offered to arbitrate all. This impression he has been for some time trying to create, through the papers and otherwise. You may have seen an article in "The London Times" speaking of my rejection of the offer, etc.; this, I know, was denied from Fayal, who shows every thing to the correspondent of that paper. Lord Palmerston has very little influence here. He has been always opposed to the Cabral Ministry, and there is no goodwill between them. I took occasion to inform Mr. Howard, that it was wholly untrue that Count Fayal had offered to arbitrate all our claims, and said that I had no objection to his so informing his Government.

I can not predict what will be the effect produced by the coming of the ship, if ever she does arrive, or of my demand for my passport, if they don't pay. Our action has, throughout the affair, been so dilatory, that I am sure it can not have so great influence as promptness would have done. It has always been my opinion that I ought to have been sent here in a ship of war,

with the same instructions given at last. Our position at the time of my arrival was by all odds better than it is now.

Should we be suffered to go away, I am undetermined whether we shall go to Naples and to Paris, through Italy and Switzerland, or go at once to Paris. I shall be determined by Commodore Morgan's course. If he offers to take us to Naples, as it will not be out of his way, I shall accept. If we go that way, we will still reach America in November.

As the season has arrived for Southerners to be in Kentucky, perhaps my house could now be sold. I should like it to be; as on our return home, if you won't sell me Ashland, I am determined to try and buy Crutchfield's place on the Ohio. Can you write to Trotter or Pindell about the house?

28th.—Commodore Morgan has not arrived, and I am in hourly expectation of receiving, what I feared I should receive, a proposition to arbitrate all the claims. I dined last night with the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son-in-law of the Emperor of Russia, at the Russian Legation, when the Minister asked if I had received such a proposition, as Count Fayal had told him he intended to make it. He seemed surprised when I told him I had not. I shall regret to receive it, because I think my instructions will oblige me to reject it, and I know it will place us in a worse position before the world. Either Commodore Morgan has had orders of which I was not informed, or he has not been as active as he might, and ought to have been.

Nine o'clock at night.—I have just received a note from the Minister, stating the willingness of his Government to arbitrate all the claims, but as he rejects the last of them in the same note, and as his language is not a distinct proposition to arbitrate, I shall not so consider it.

We are all well, and Susan joins me in affectionate love to you.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1850.

MY DEAR SON,—I have written to you less of late than I wished, owing to my perpetual public occupations. We are yet in the midst of our slavery discussions, with no certainty of the final result. I have hopes of the final success of the compromise re-

ported by me of the Committee of Thirteen, but with less confidence than I desire.

By this time, I presume that your public duties at Lisbon are brought to an unsuccessful close. I fear that the display of force in the port of Lisbon has not been attended with the benefit anticipated from it.

I have got Henry Clay admitted as a cadet in West Point, and he has gone home to see his relations, and to return to me next week to enter the Academy.

You will see in the papers that I have spoken a great deal (much more than I wished) in the Senate. In my last speech I had to attack the plan of the Administration, for compromising our slavery difficulties; its course left me no other alternative. My friends speak in terms of extravagant praise of my speeches, and especially of the last.

Since I began this letter, I received your letter of the 28th April, with Susan's long and interesting letter to her mother, which I have read and forwarded this moment.

I do not entertain much hope of the effect of the display of naval force in getting our claims allowed, and consequently I expect you will leave Lisbon soon after you receive this letter. Should they be allowed, and should Portugal raise the rank of her representatives, I suppose the measure would be reciprocated by our Executive.

I am delighted to hear that you are all so happy, and that dear Lucy has some good prospect of recovery.

I send a letter from Mary to Susan, and I am to blame for some delay in its transmission. My love to her, and to all your dear children.

MR. CLAY TO MRS. THOMAS H. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, July 13, 1850.

MY DEAR MARY,—I received your letter with its inclosure. I wish you would tell your mother not to pay the Abion's account, or any other account against me, without my direction. I will arrange these matters myself.

My health is reasonably good. Mrs. Brand, of Lexington, and her party are now here, and will to-day witness the funeral ceremonies of General Taylor, about which the whole city is now in commotion.

Tell Thomas that I think the event which has happened will favor the passage of the Compromise bill.

I can not tell you, my dear Mary, how anxious I am to be at home with your dear mother, my wife, and all of you.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

PHILADELPHIA, August 6, 1850.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I am here on my way to Newport, for which place I proceed to-morrow, and hope to reach it during the night.

I received your letter of the 28th ultimo, and I was gratified to learn that your prospects from the saw-mill were so good.

My relations with Mr. Fillmore are perfectly friendly and confidential. In the appointment of Mr. Crittenden I acquiesced. Mr. F. asked me how we stood? I told him that the same degree of intimacy between us which once existed, no longer prevailed; but that we were on terms of civility. I added that, if he thought of introducing him into his Cabinet, I hoped that no considerations of my present relations to him would form any obstacle.

I shall be very glad if any thing can be done for Carroll, and and I will see on my return to Washington.

As to the post-office in Lexington, my wishes will, I anticipate, finally prevail.

I am very much worn down, but I hope that Newport will replace my health and strength.

My love to Mary and the children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

NEWPORT, August 15, 1850.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I received your two last letters, the last inclosing one from Mary to Susan, which I have forwarded. James will return in October or November; he has closed his negotiation, and although he has concluded no convention with Portugal, he has succeeded in placing our claims with that Government on a much better footing than they ever stood before. He has sent old Aaron home, and he is now in Washington.

I have been benefited by my visit to this place, and shall remain here about a week longer. It is so cool here as to require the use of fires.

They are passing through the Senate, in separate bills, all the measures of our Compromise, and if they should pass the House also, I hope they will lead to all the good effects which would have resulted from the adoption of the Compromise.

I have seen Henry Pindle's wife here, and I was very glad to hear from her that your mother is in good health, and that she has been enjoying more of society than she has been accustomed to do.

Give my love to Mary and the children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, September 6, 1850.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I have received your letter of the 31st ult. I congratulate Louisa and her family upon her marriage, which I hope and believe may prove a happy one.

We can see no end yet of this fatiguing session. So far, nothing is definitely decided on the slavery question. Perhaps there may be to-day or to-morrow. In the mean time I am again getting very much exhausted. I wish that I had remained longer at Newport, where I was much benefited. I shall as soon as possible return home, where I desire to be more than I ever did in my life.

My love to Mary and the children.

MR. CLAY TO MRS. JAMES B. CLAY.

ASHLAND, November 21, 1850.

I was rejoiced, my dear Susan, to have seen by the newspapers, that you and your children had arrived safely at New York, and by the telegraphic dispatch, which you sent me from Pittsburg, that you had reached that city. Not knowing whether you will first come here or go to Louisville, I address this letter to you at the latter. I expect to leave home on the first or second of next month. Will you come here before I go? If not, I must try to go by Louisville to see you and the children

I have sold James' house for nine thousand dollars, one third to be paid at New Orleans the first of January next, one third in October next, and the other third the October following, all well secured. Harvey Miller was the purchaser. Considering James' anxiety to sell, and the low price of town property, the sale is considered a good one. But if he had been at home, and could have made an arrangement with me for the purchase of Ashland, I would have allowed him ten thousand dollars for his house. Mr. Miller had left the house, and I could get no good tenant. So you see you are without house and home; but I hope you will pass as much of your time as you can at Ashland. John expects to go to New Orleans in two or three weeks. We are all well here and at Mansfield.

Write me immediately about your movements. My love to Lucy and the other children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1850.

MY DEAR JAMES,—Prior to the receipt of your letter, dated at Ashland the 17th instant, I had addressed a letter to you containing some things not necessary to be repeated here. I have not yet had a good opportunity of conversing with either the President or Mr. Webster about you or your late mission; but the other night at Jenny Lind's concert, sitting by Mr. Webster, he broke forth in extravagant praises of you. I do not think that you ought to put an unfriendly interpretation upon any thing which occurred about your return to Lisbon. Your letter from Geneva of September did not contain an unconditional offer to return. You submitted some point of honor to Mr. Webster. I think he might have sent earlier instructions to you; but I suppose his absence from Washington and his indisposition formed his excuse. In his letter of the 5th November (which I hastily read) he seems to have been undecided whether you wished to return or not, but left it to you to determine. After you returned to the United States I do not think that you ought to have gone back to Lisbon for the temporary purpose of concluding the Convention. And, upon the whole, I have no regrets about it, considering how well and how strongly the President speaks of you, in his annual Message, and in what favorable terms officially

and privately, Mr. Webster speaks of you, and that the public ascribes to you the success of the negotiation. I wrote you that I think you are entitled to your salary up to the 20th November and a quarter beyond, and to indemnity for any loss in furniture, etc., in consequence of your sudden departure from Lisbon. I believe it is usual also to charge for stationery, postage, etc. If you will send me your account I will endeavor to have it settled.

I was in hopes that you would stay with your mother until my return, and that we would then talk about your future. As to your purchase of Ashland, I never desired that you should make it, unless prompted by your own interests and feelings. When I go hence it must be sold, and I have never feared that it would not command a fair and full price.

I should regret deeply to see you set down doing nothing. You must engage in some occupation or you will be miserable. The law, farming, or the public service, are the only pursuits which I suppose present themselves to you. You don't like the first, which is moreover nowhere in Kentucky profitable; and your decision must be between the two others. I had inferred that you were tired of diplomacy, unless you could get a higher grade than that which you lately held. At present there is none that I know of; but perhaps some vacancy may occur. As to elevating the mission to Lisbon, I have heard here of no proposal to that effect. It does not depend, you know, exclusively on the Executive; Congress must sanction it. Possibly after the conclusion of the Convention, if Portugal should desire to elevate the rank of her minister, it may be proposed to reciprocate it by the President; but I do not apprehend that a higher rank would be thought of than that of minister resident.

You did not say whether you were satisfied or not with my sale of your house and lot. I would not have sold it but for your great anxiety to sell. It was a good house, but I never liked its external appearance. The situation was one of the finest in Lexington.

You will direct what I shall do with the draft for $3000 when I receive it from New Orleans.

My love to Susan, Lucy, and the other children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

WASHINGTON, March 8, 1851.

MY DEAR WIFE,—I have finally concluded to return by Cuba and New Orleans. The great difficulty I have felt in coming to the conclusion has been my long absence from you, and my desire to be with you. But my cough continues; although I do not lay up, my health is bad, and the weather has been the worst of March weather. The road, too, by Cumberland, I am told, is almost impassable. I hope that I may be benefited by the softer climate of Cuba. I expect to go on the 11th from New York in the steamer Georgia. And I think my absence from home will not be prolonged beyond a month, that is the middle of April. On settling my bank accounts, I will either from here or New York make a remittance to you.

I send herewith a check on York for $400 which I have endorsed to you, and of which you will make any use you may think proper.

I have written to John and telegraphed him, to put him at ease about Yorkshire, and I hope all will go well at home until my return.

God bless and preserve you, my dear wife.

MR. CLAY TO ADAM BEATTY.

ASHLAND, April 28, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor transmitting two letters, one addressed to yourself and the other in reply to it, and I thank you for the opportunity afforded me of perusing them.

If the course of ——— affords cause of regret, I am grateful for the firmness and fidelity with which you remained attached to me in 1848, as upon all former occasions.

The nomination made of General Taylor, in Philadelphia, has now no other than an historical interest. It has long ceased to affect me. I fear, indeed, that it has had a pernicious influence upon the Whig cause, but of that we shall hereafter be able better to judge. I concur entirely in the views presented in your reply to ———. Had I been nominated I am perfectly confident that I should have obtained every electoral vote which he received, and, besides them, the vote of Ohio certainly, and that

of Indiana probably. My majority in Pennsylvania would have been greater than that which was given to him. But the thing is passed, and no one has more quietly submitted to the event than I have.

I was very sorry that circumstances were such as not to admit of my calling to see you on my return home; but I hope we may yet live to meet each other. I returned by the route of Cuba and New Orleans, and was highly gratified with my visit to that delightful island.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

ASHLAND, May 9, 1851.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter of the 28th ultimo. From Susan I had learned your plans for the future. Although they involve a separation of you and your family from me, I can not complain of them and think them judicious. I am afraid that we did not explain ourselves mutually fully to each other. It was my anxious wish that you should have succeeded me in the possession of Ashland, if it had suited your inclination and interest, and if you had been at home I think we could have made some arrangement by which you could have come into the immediate possession of it, and I could have taken your house. But you were not here; and before you went to Europe, and in your letters from Lisbon, you displayed so much anxiety to sell the house that I concluded to take the offer of Mr. Miller. Mr. Trotter too was about to give it up, and as I was on the eve of my departure for Washington, and knew of no tenant that I could get, I did not well know what to do with it. I think it ought to have brought ten thousand dollars, which is what I should have been willing to have allowed for it, but I obtained the best price I could get, and the sale of it was far better than that to Mr. Goodhue which you appeared willing to make.

My health is not good, a troublesome and inconvenient cough has hung by me for six months past; it has reduced and enfeebled me very much. Dr. Dudley thinks that my lungs are unaffected, and that it proceeds from some derangement in the functions of the stomach. Be that as it may, I must get rid of the cough or it will dispose of me. My hopes rest upon the effects of warm weather.

Susan and the children are well, and appear to be contented and satisfied. They are a source of great happiness to me, and I look forward to their leaving us with painful anticipations. Your mother and John are both quite well, and so are Thomas and his family. John is constantly occupied with our numerous horses and those which are sent to Ashland. He is in good spirits and appears much encouraged with prospects, and I think has reason to be so. My overseer is doing admirably well, and your mother is better pleased with him than she ever was with any of his predecessors. I have a great many things to say to you and to talk to you about, but among the inconveniences of my present indisposition, one is, that it is less agreeable to me than formerly to write or even to dictate, as I am now doing. I must therefore reserve for the occasion of your return to us to say whatever I now omit. Susan gets your weekly letters regularly and I hope you will continue to write, as in that way I can learn your projects and prospects.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMAN.

ASHLAND, June 14, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favor of the 29th ultimo, stating that some of my friends in New York have it under discussion, to make a movement to bring forward my name for the Presidency; and inquiring, in entire confidence, what my own views and wishes are, upon the subject. I have delayed transmitting an answer to your letter, from a desire to give to its important contents the fullest and most deliberate consideration. That I have now done, and I will communicate the result to you.

You will recollect that the last time but one that I was in the city of New York, I had the pleasure of dining with you and a number of other friends at the house of our friend M——; that we then had a frank, full, and confidential conversation on the connection of my name with the next Presidency; and that I then declared that I did not wish ever again to be brought forward as a candidate. From that declaration, I have never since deviated in thought, word, or deed. I have said or done nothing inconsistent with it; nothing which implied any desire on

my part to have my name presented as a Presidential candidate. On a review and reconsideration of the whole matter, I adhere to that declaration.

Considering my age, the delicate state of my health, the frequency and the unsuccessful presentation of my name on former occasions, I feel an unconquerable repugnance to such a use of it again. I can not, therefore, consent to it. I have been sometimes tempted publicly to announce that, under no circumstances, would I yield my consent to be brought forward as a candidate. But I have been restrained from taking that step by two considerations. The first was, that I did not see any such general allusion to me, as a suitable person for the office, as to make it proper that I should break silence and speak out; and the second was that I have always thought that no citizen has a right to ostracise himself, and to refuse public service under all possible contingencies.

I might here stop, but I will add some observations on the general subject of the next election. I think it quite clear that a Democrat will be elected, unless that result shall be prevented by divisions in the Democratic party. On these divisions the Whigs might advantageously count, if it were not for those which exist in their own party. It is, perhaps, safest to conclude that the divisions existing in the two parties will counterbalance each other.

Party ties have no doubt been greatly weakened generally, and, in particular localities, have been almost entirely destroyed. But it would be unwise to suppose that, when the two parties shall have brought out their respective candidates, each will not rally around its own standard. There may be exceptions; but those, on the one side, will probably be counterpoised by those on the other. I believe that no one in the Whig party could obtain a greater amount of support from the Democratic party than I could; but in this I may be deceived by the illusions of egotism. At all events it would be unsafe and unwise for a candidate of one party to calculate upon any suffrages of the other. While I do not think that the hopes of success on the part of the Whigs at the next Presidential election are very flattering or encouraging, I would not discourage their putting forth their most energetic exertions. There are always the chances of the war. The other party may commit great blunders, as they did recently in your State, in the course of their Senators, who op-

posed the enlargement of the Erie Canal; and as they are disposed to do in respect to the lake, river, and harbor improvements.

No candidate, I hope and believe, can be elected who is not in favor of the Union, and in favor of the Compromise of the last Congress (including the Fugitive Slave bill), as necessary means to sustain it. Of the candidates spoken of on the Democratic side, I confess that I should prefer General Cass. He is, I think, more to be relied on than any of his competitors. During the trials of the long session of the last Congress, he bore himself firmly, consistently, and patriotically. He has quite as much ability, quite as much firmness, and, I think, much more honesty and sincerity than Mr. Buchanan.

If I were to offer any advice to my friends, it would be not to commit themselves prematurely to either of the two Whig candidates who have been prominently put forward. Strong objections, although of a very different kind, exist against them both. They had better wait. It will be time enough next winter to decide; and I am inclined to believe that both of those gentlemen will find, in the sequel, that they have taken, or their friends have put them in, the field, too early.

Besides pre-existing questions, a new one will probably arise at the next session of Congress, involving the right of any one of the States of the Union, upon its own separate will and pleasure, to secede from the residue, and become a distinct and independent power. The decision of that momentous question can not but exert some influence, more or less, upon the next Presidential election. For my own part, I utterly deny the existence of any such right, and I think an attempt to exercise it ought to be resisted to the last extremity; for it is, in part, a question of union or no union.

You inquire if I will visit Newport this summer, with the view of ascertaining whether it might not be convenient there, or at some other Eastern place, to present me a gold medal which I understand my good friends are preparing for me. I have been absent from home fifteen out of the last nineteen months, and I feel great reluctance to leaving it, during the present summer. If I were to go to the Eastward, I should have to return early in the autumn, and soon after to go back to Washington, unless I resign my seat in the Senate of the United States. Under these circumstances, my present inclination is to remain at home and to attend to my private affairs, which need my care.

Should my friends persevere in their purpose of presenting me the proposed medal, some suitable time and place can be hereafter designated for that purpose. Surely no man was ever blessed with more ardent and devoted friends than I am, and, among them, none are more or perhaps so enthusiastic as those in the city of New York. God bless them. I wish it was in my power to testify my gratitude to them in full accordance with the fervent impulses of my heart.

MR. CLAY TO S. A. ALLIBONE.

ASHLAND, June 30, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letter of the 23d instant. I have been so much from home during the last eighteen months that it is not my purpose at present to leave it this summer.

I have no doubt, with you, that many of the quiet and well-disposed citizens of South Carolina are opposed to the measures of violence which are threatened by others. But the danger is, as history shows too often happens, that the bold, the daring, and the violent will get the control, and push their measures to a fatal extreme. Should the State resolve to secede, it will present a new form of trial to our system; but I entertain undoubting confidence that it will come out of it with the most triumphant success.

I thank you for your friendly tender of your services. Should any occasion for the use of them arise, I will avail myself of them, with great pleasure.

Do me the favor to present my warm regards to your good sister; and I reciprocate your kind wishes and prayers, with all my heart.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMANN.

ASHLAND, September 26, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the 19th instant, with the memorial inclosed. On the subject of the next Presidency, my opinions and views have undergone no change since I last wrote to you. Should I be able, as I now hope to be, from my slowly

improving health, to attend the next session of the Senate, we will confer more freely on that subject. In the mean time, I am glad that my friends in New York have foreborne to present my name as a candidate.

I have looked at the list of events and subjects which are proposed to be inscribed on the medal. I have made out and sent herewith a more comprehensive list, embracing most of the im portant matters, as to which I had any agency, during my service in the National councils. As to the Cumberland Road, no year can be properly fixed. Appropriations for it were made from year to year, for a series of years, which were violently opposed, and the support of which chiefly devolved on me. So in regard to Spanish America, the first movement was made by me in 1818, and my exertions were continued from year to year, until the measure of recognition was finally completed in 1822.

The list now sent may be too large for inscription on the medal. Of course it is my wish that it should be dealt with, by abridgment, or omission as may be thought proper. The two reports, made by me in the Senate, which gave me much credit and reputation were, 1st. That which proposed an equal distribution among the States of the proceeds of the public domain; and 2d. That which averted General Jackson's meditated war against France, on account of her failure to pay the indemnity. I carried both measures against the whole weight of Jackson; but he pocketed the Land Distribution bill, which was not finally passed until 1841. He could not, however, make war against France, without the concurrence of Congress, and my report preserved the peace of the two countries.

My Panama instructions were the most elaborate (and if I may be allowed to speak of them), the ablest State paper that I composed while I was in the Department of State. They contain an exposition of liberal principles, regulating Maritime War, Neutral Rights, etc., which will command the approbation of enlightened men and of posterity.

I was glad to see that you were nominated for Attorney-General at Syracuse, and I heartily wish for your election.

The address to me from New York, although published in the papers, has not been received officially by me. What is intended? I have had some correspondence about it with Mr. James D. P. Ogden, who sent me a copy informally. I can not venture to encounter the scenes of excitement which would

attend me, if I were to go to New York; but in anticipation of the reception of the address I have prepared a pretty long answer, in which I treat of Secession, the state of the country, in regard to the Slavery question, etc. If this answer be capable of doing any good, the sooner it is published the better.

[The medal alluded to in the foregoing letter, was presented to Mr. Clay the 9th of February, 1852, and is described as follows:]

It is of pure California gold, massive and weighty, and is inclosed in a silver case, which opens with a hinge in the manner of a hunting-watch. On the face of the medal is a fine head of Mr. Clay, most felicitous in the likeness, and conveying the characteristic impression of his features in a higher degree than any of the busts or medallions usually seen. The relief is very high, and must have required a pressure of immense power to give it its fullness, sharpness, and delicacy of outline. The reverse exhibits the following inscription:

SENATE,
1806.
SPEAKER, 1811.
WAR OF 1812 WITH GREAT BRITAIN.
GHENT, 1814.
SPANISH AMERICA, 1822.
MISSOURI COMPROMISE, 1821.
AMERICAN SYSTEM, 1824.
GREECE, 1824.
SECRETARY OF STATE, 1825.
PANAMA INSTRUCTIONS, 1826.
TARIFF COMPROMISE,
1833.
PUBLIC DOMAIN, 1833—1841.
PEACE WITH FRANCE PRESERVED, 1835.
COMPROMISE, 1850.

The lines are supported on either hand by tasteful wreaths, in which the six chief American staples—wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and hemp—are very happily intertwined.

On the silver case is represented on one side a view of the Capitol (with its contemplated additional wings fully displayed); and on the other in two distinct compartments above, an elevation of the great commemorative monument on the Cumberland road; below, a view of Ashland and its mansion.

MR. CLAY TO HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, MRS. THOS. H. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, December 25, 1851.

MY DEAR MARY,—I received to-day your letter of the 19th instant, and I was very glad to get the details contained in it about yourself, your family, and affairs at Ashland. And I am under very great obligations to you and to Thomas for the kind offer which you have made, to come either one or both of you to Washington, to attend me during my present illness. If there were the least occasion for it, I should with pleasure accept the offer; but there is not. Every want, every wish, every attention which I need, is supplied. The hotel at which I stay has a bill of fare of some thirty or forty articles every day, from which I can select any for which I have a relish, and if I want any thing which is not on the bill of fare, it is promptly procured for me. The state of my case may be told in a few words. If I can get rid of this distressing cough, or can materially reduce it, I may yet be restored to a comfortable condition. That is the present aim of my physicians, and I have some hope that it has abated a little within the last few days. But if the cough can not be stopped or considerably reduced, it will go on until it accomplishes its work. When that may be, it is impossible to say, with any sort of certainty. I may linger for some months, long enough possibly to reach home once more. At all events, there is no prospect at present of immediate dissolution. Under these circumstances, I have no desire to bring any member of my family from home, when there is not the least necessity for it. With regard to the rumors which reach you from time to time, and afflict you, you must bear with them, and rest assured of what I have already communicated to your mother, that if my case should take a fatal turn, the telegraph shall communicate the fact. I occupy two excellent rooms, the temperature of which is kept up during the day at about 70°. The greatest inconvenience I feel is from the bad weather, which has confined me nearly a fortnight to my room, and I can take no exercise until the weather changes My love to Thomas and all your children, to your mother, ar l to all others at Ashland.

FATHER MATTHEW TO MR. CLAY.

CORK, December 29, 1851.

MY DEAREST SIR,—From the south of that green island which you have often, in your own eloquent and all but inspired language, made the subject of your warmest eulogy, the most grateful of your admirers presumes to intrude on your well-filled time, by presenting to you his heartfelt wishes, at the commencement of the New Year, humbly praying that the Great Bestower of every good may bless you with length of days, to promote the prosperity of that great country whose pride and glory you are, filling both it and Europe with your well-merited fame. Blessed be the remainder of your brilliant and useful life, and may the prospect of future glory gild it with felicity. Uniting your most respected lady in my humble prayer and sincere wishes, and the other amiable and beloved members of your dear family, to whom I had the honor of an introduction, with enduring remembrance of your exceeding kindness in the day of my distress, I have the honor to be, most respected sir, etc.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1852.

MY DEAR THOMAS,—I received two or three letters from you since I came here, and should have answered them with pleasure if my strength and health would have admitted of it. You observe now I am obliged to employ the pen of a friend. I was very thankful for the kind offer of yourself and Mary to come here and nurse me. I should have promptly accepted, if it had been necessary, but it was not. Every want and wish that I have are kindly attended to. I am surrounded by good friends, who are ready and willing to serve me; and you and Mary yourselves could not have been more assiduous in your attentions than are my friends the Calverts.

The state of my health has not very materially altered. Within the last eight or ten days there has been some improvement; not so great as my friends persuade themselves, but still some improvement. The solution of the problem of my recovery depends upon the distressing cough which I have, and I think that it is a little diminished. I am embargoed here by

the severity of the winter, which has confined me to the house for the last three weeks. I hope to derive some benefit when I shall be again able to drive out in the open air. You must continue to write me without regard to my ability to reply. It is a source of great comfort to me to hear, and to hear fully, from Ashland and Mansfield. John has been very kind in writing very frequently to me. Give my love to Mary and all the children.

MR. CLAY TO SAMUEL A. ALLIBONE.

WASHINGTON, January 11, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—Although too unwell myself to write you, I can not withhold the expression, through the pen of a friend, of my thanks for your kind letter of the 10th instant, and for the warm interest which you take in my restoration to health. I thank you especially for your friendly offer to come hither and assist in nursing me; but I am so extremely well attended in that respect, as not to render necessary the acceptance of your obliging offer. Present my warm regards to your sister, and tell her that as the probability is that neither of us is long for this world, I hope that when we go hence we shall meet in one far better. I am, with the greatest respect, etc.

THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN TO MR. CLAY.

NEW BRUNSWICK, January 19, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have heard with great interest and anxiety of your continued feeble health, and that it had rather been more feeble since your decided testimony in behalf of Washington's foreign policy. I was rejoiced to hear your words of soberness and truth on the exciting question of Hungarian politics; and I trust that a divine blessing will follow your counsels.

In this time of impaired health, and sometimes trying despondency that ensues, it must be refreshing to look away to Him who is a helper near in trouble, and able and willing to sustain and comfort you. This blessed Gospel, that reveals the riches of God's grace in Jesus Christ, is a wonderful remedy: so suited to our condition and character, and so full of inexpressible consolation to us, as sinners needing mercy. His blood cleansing

us from the guilt of sin, His Spirit purifying our hearts, and restoring us to God's image and favor. May you, my dear friend, largely partake of its comforts, and leaning all your hopes on the Almighty Saviour's arm, hold on your way, for life and for death, for time and eternity, in His name and strength.

WILLIAM M'LAIN TO MR. CLAY.

Colonization Rooms, Washington City, February 9, 1852.

Dear Sir,—At the recent annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with our venerable President, the Hon. Henry Clay, in his present protracted illness, by which we are deprived of his presence and able counsels at this annual meeting of our Society, to which he has, from its foundation, devoted himself with signal ability and unwavering fidelity; and that we hold him in affectionate and grateful remembrance for the distinguished services he has rendered in the prosecution of the great scheme of African colonization.

I take great pleasure, my dear sir, in furnishing you with the foregoing resolution.

Hoping that you may be restored to health, and that this Society may continue to have the honor of your name and influence as its President, I remain, etc.

MR. CLAY TO MRS. JAMES B. CLAY.

Washington, February 12, 1852.

My dear Susan,—I received your letter of the 27th ultimo, and I had received that of James' of the 1st. I write now so uncomfortably and so slow, that I take up my pen with great repugnance. I was very glad to receive both of your letters, and was delighted to contemplate the picture of your domestic happiness with your husband and children. As the world recedes from me, I feel my affections more than ever concentrated on my children, and theirs.

My health has improved a little within the last few weeks, but the cough still hangs on, and unless I can get rid of it, or

greatly diminish it, I can not look for a radical cure. The winter has been excessively rigorous, and I have not been out of the house for eight weeks. You must not believe all you see in the newspapers, favorable or unfavorable, about my health.

I hope you and James will continue to write to me, whether you receive regular replies or not. How has the dairy got through the winter?

My love to James and all my dear grandchildren.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, February 24, 1852.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter of the 10th. I should have written you oftener, but I am so feeble, and write with so little comfort, that I take up the pen reluctantly. I hope that you and Susan, notwithstanding my apparent delinquency, will write me frequently, giving me full details of all your plans, improvements, and business. There is nothing now that interests me so much as to receive full accounts from the members of my family frequently. Although you have got more in debt than I could have wished, you ought to be very happy. In dear Susan you have an excellent wife, and you have a fine parcel of promising children, and you have ample means of support.

I gave my deposition in your case with Miller week before the last, and it was sent to Lexington. It proved all that was expected of me.

My health continues very delicate. I have not been out of the house for upward of two months. I can not recognize any encouraging change. My cough still hangs on, although I sometimes hope that it is a little abated. If I can not get rid of it, or at least greatly diminish it, I think it must prove fatal. But I may linger for months to come. I should be glad to get home once more.

My love to Susan, and kisses for all the children. I would be glad to write more, but you can not conceive how this little letter has exhausted me.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMAN.

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your favor transmitting an engrossed copy of the address which you did me the honor to make to me on the occasion of presenting the medal which my New York friends had offered me. I thank you for this corrected copy of the address which is very beautifully engrossed.

The medal has been in the possession of the goldsmiths of this place, who desired the custody of it to gratify public curiosity. You wish it returned that a more accurate impression may be made by striking another. I examined it to see if I could discern the defect in the letters to which you refer, and I confess I could not. If to strike it again will occasion any trouble or expense to my friends, I think it might well be avoided, but if you persist in your desire to have it done, I will have it sent to you by Adams' Express next week.

You rightly understood me in expressing a preference for Mr. Fillmore as the Whig candidate for the Presidency. This I did before I left home, and have frequently here in private intercourse, since my arrival at Washington. I care not how generally the fact may be known, but I should not deem it right to publish any formal avowal of that preference under my own signature in the newspapers. Such a course would subject me to the imputation of supposing that my opinions possessed more weight with the public than I apprehend they do. The foundation of my preference is, that Mr. Fillmore has administered the Executive Government with signal success and ability. He has been tried and found true, faithful, honest, and conscientious. I wish to say nothing in derogation from his eminent competitors, they have both rendered great services to their country; the one in the field, the other in the Cabinet. They might possibly administer the Government as well as Mr. Fillmore has done. But then neither of them has been tried; he has been tried in the elevated position he now holds, and I think that prudence and wisdom had better restrain us from making any change without a necessity for it, the existence of which I do not perceive.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1852.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter of the 1st instant, and at the same time one from Susan. They both interested me, as I like to hear all the details of your business and operations. You find, as every body finds, building and improvement more expensive than you had expected.

My health continues nearly stationary, not getting better nor worse, except in one particular, and that is sleep. Although I take an opiate every night, and lie in bed fourteen hours, I can get no sound, refreshing sleep. A man whose flesh, strength, appetite and sleep have been greatly reduced, must be in a bad way, but that is my condition. I have taken immense quantities of drugs; but with little if any effect on my cough, the disease which threatens me. I may linger on some months, but if there be no speedy improvement, I must finally sink under it.

Give my love to dear Susan and all your children. I hope that she will continue to write to me.

MR. CLAY TO DANIEL ULLMAN.

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your kind letter informing me of the loss of the medal. I am truly sorry for the occurrence, and the more so because I ought to have followed your directions to send it by Adams' Express. But Miss Lynch being in my room the evening before she started for the city of New York, and being informed that I was about to send the medal to you, she kindly offered to take charge of it, and I accordingly placed it under her care. I have no doubt she suffers as much as any of us by its loss, and I would not say one word by way of reproach to her. I should be very sorry if any trouble or expense were taken in replacing it. The fact of its presentation, and even the representations upon the medal have been so widely diffused as to render the presentation of it historical. You will recollect that I jocosely remarked while you were here that some Goth, when I was laid low in the grave, might be tempted to break off my nose and use the valuable metal which it contains! I did not then, however, anticipate the possibility of such an incident occuring so quickly.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, March 22, 1852.

MY DEAR SON,—I received your letter of the 8th. I was glad to receive your letter and to peruse all the details in it.

My health continues without any material change. I am very weak, write with no comfort, sleep badly, and have very little appetite for my food.

You must not mind what you see in the newspapers about me, such as that I was going to the Senate to make a speech, etc. Not a word of truth in it.

My love to Susan and all the children.

MR. CLAY TO MRS. THOMAS H. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1852

MY DEAR MARY,—I received your letter of the 30th ultimo, and thank you for it. Your letters always give me satisfaction, as they go into details and tell me things which nobody else writes. The state of my health remains pretty much as it has been. But little sleep, appetite, or strength.

If I am spared, and have strength to make the journey, I think of going home in May or early in June, and in that case I wish to send for Thomas to accompany me.

I wish you would ask your mother to pay a small note of mine held by Ike Shelby. I have just heard to-day of the death of Mr. Jacobs. Poor Susan must be overwhelmed with grief.

We have had no good weather yet.

My love to Susan and the children.

MR. CLAY TO HIS SON JAMES.

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1852.

MY DEAR SON,—I have heard of the death of Mr. Jacobs, and I offer to you and to Susan assurances of my cordial condolence. Tell her that I hope she will bear the event with the fortitude of a Christian. My health continues very feeble, so much so that I write with no comfort or ease, as you may infer from this letter

being written by the pen of a friend. What will be the issue of my illness it is impossible to predict. My own opinion of the case is less favorable than that of my physicians. If my strength continues to fail me, I think I can not last a great while. I feel perfectly composed and resigned to my fate, whatever it may be.

Give my love to Susan and all your children.

THOMAS H. CLAY TO JAMES B. CLAY.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1852.

DEAR JAMES,—Summoned by a telegraphic dispatch of the 27th ultimo, I arrived here on Tuesday evening last, the 5th instant. For forty-eight hours after my arrival, my father appeared better than he had been for a week previous. He is very feeble, and there is no longer any hope of his reaching Kentucky alive.

Dr. Jackson thinks that there may be a termination of his case in a few hours, and it may be possible that he may live a week or ten days longer. He is greatly reduced in flesh; the same cough yet continues to harass and weaken him, and he is now unable even to walk across the room. Yesterday evening, supported by a friend on each side, he was very near fainting. He has now to be carried from his bed to his couch. He can not talk five minutes in the course of the day without great exhaustion.

He has directed me to say in answer to your letter of the 24th ultimo, that he is too weak to attend to the matter you write of with Corcoran and Riggs.

He is calm and composed, and will meet the enemy without any fears of the result. The Sacrament was administered to him yesterday, by Mr. Butler, the Episcopalian chaplain of the Senate. Give my love to your wife and children.

THOMAS H. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1852.

MY DEAR MARY,—Had you seen, as I have, the evidences of attachment and interest displayed by my father's friends for him, you could not well help exclaiming, as he has frequently done,

"Was there ever man had such friends!" The first and best in the land are daily and hourly offering tokens of their love and esteem for him.

SIR WILLIAM CLAY TO MR. CLAY.

No. 17 Hertford St., Mayfair, May 8, 1852.

My dear Sir,—So many years have elapsed since the only intercourse I ever had the pleasure of holding with you—by letters and amity ceased—that I can hardly flatter myself you yet recollect its occurrence. I could not, however, let my son proceed to the United States without giving him at least the chance of becoming personally known to one who has so nobly illustrated the name he himself bears.

This letter, therefore, will be presented to you by my eldest son, William Dickinson Clay, who, with his friend Mr. Morris —a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford—is about to make the tour of the United States.

I know not whether you and I shall ever meet. I have the ardent wish to visit America, but whether my public duties may permit of my gratifying that wish, while I have health and strength to enjoy the journey, is more than doubtful.

Should that not occur, but should it so happen that either you or any one in whom you take an interest visits England, you will not, I hope, forget that you will afford me pleasure by showing that you perfectly rely on the friendly feeling with which I am, my dear sir, yours with great respect and regard.

[Thomas H. Clay, Mr. Clay's second son, having been summoned to the bedside of his father, arrived in Washington early in May. It will have been seen by the correspondence, that Mr. Clay had, till this time, refused his consent for any member of the family to come on. From the time of Mr. Thomas H. Clay's arrival till the death of his father, he wrote to some member of the family, at home, every day. It is thought sufficient to present extracts from this diary, at intervals of about five days, which will be found in the following extracts:]

WASHINGTON CITY, May 13, 1852.

My father passed the last night comfortable without much coughing. The only thing the doctors can do, is to alleviate as much as they can the pain arising from his cough and his excessive debility.

MAY 18, 1852.

My father has passed the last twenty-four hours much more comfortably than he had been for a week before. He has slept well and should he acquire strength with it, in spite of the predictions of the medical men, I shall begin to hope. It is the cough and that alone that has prostrated him; once relieved from that, I know not what we may not hope for. There is yet more vitality in him, than the reports in the newspapers would lead one to infer. I will keep you all correctly informed. Believe nothing that you see or hear, except it comes from me.

MAY 20, 1852.

My father coughed but little last night, yesterday he was a good deal harassed. Could it be possible to remove his cough, he would get well beyond a doubt. He is very feeble, but is not so much reduced in flesh as I had supposed before I came on here. It is the cough as he himself has always said, that is killing him. His lungs are not at all affected.

He insists on my writing to some of the family, either at Mansfield or Ashland, every day. I have but little to communicate in addition to informing you how he passes the days and nights.

MAY 26, 1852.

My father passed a tolerable night; you must be aware that any improvement in his condition must be gradual, as the prostration he labors under came on in the same way. I have been nowhere, and made as few acquaintances as I could; I am confined all day to his rooms, and last night was up until twelve

o'clock, as James appeared anxious to go out. I am doing every thing that I can to render his situation as comfortable as possible, allowing myself but little time even for a walk.

June 1, 1852.

My father listens attentively to the perusal of every letter from home.

He passed last night in more comfort than he did the night before. He had some appetite for his dinner yesterday.

One o'clock at night, June 4, 1852.

I wrote you this morning that my father had a bad night, and that he was then trying to get some rest; since I have been here, when he has passed a bad night, he was usually able to make up for the want of rest, during the following day. But such has not been the case to-day. He has coughed a great deal, and has had but little intermission from it. He took his opiate about two hours ago, and I hope that he will be enabled to get some sleep and rest in the next twenty-four hours. I shall keep my letter open to let you know how he is until to-morrow evening. He has suffered a good deal since this time last night.

June 7, 1852.

My father was yesterday much depressed. He had held a long conversation with Mr. Crittenden and requested me to treat him kindly. Besides a cold sweat after dinner, all these things were sufficient to make him feel low spirited. He told me that he thought there would soon be a termination to it. The doctor thought on his afternoon visit that he was no worse than usual. God alone knows.

June 9, 1852.

My father has become feeble within a few days, and I do not think it possible for him to hold out long.

June 16, 1852.

My father is to-day decidedly worse than he has been since my arrival. I wrote to Mr. Theobald this morning that there was but little or no change in his condition; since then, I am satisfied he is worse. He has had a copious perspiration, which has greatly weakened him. The attending physician, Dr. Hall, rubbed him all over the person with brandy and alum. He told me this morning that he did not think he should last more than ten days.

I have been constant in my attendance on him. I think I can see a marked change in his countenance.

June 20, 1852.

My father did not pass a good night, nor has he slept much this morning. A friend yesterday afternoon brought him three woodcocks; he ate a little of one of them this morning. He never now gets out of bed. He is moved occasionally from one bed to the other, for the purpose of ventilating and making up. He was too feeble this morning to carry a glass of water to his lips. The weather has been very hot during the week, the mercury rising at one time to 93°.

June 25, 1852.

I now look for a termination in my father's case before many hours. I do not feel in any mood to write to any one but you, my wife. Judge Underwood coincides with me in opinion that he will not last many hours. The next you receive from me will probably be a telegraphic dispatch, directed to Mr. Harrison.

June 29, 1852.

I had never before imagined that any one could live in the extreme state of debility under which my father is now suffering. The act of taking even a single swallow of water is painful to him, on account of his great feebleness. He has eaten nothing of

any consequence (only a few mouthfuls of soup) for five or six days. I can not believe he can possibly survive through the week.

Lexington, June 29, 1852.

The following message was received at this office to-day, dated Washington, 29th, 1852, twelve o'clock;

J. O. Harrison—

My father is no more. He has passed without pain into eternity.

Thos. H. Clay.

MR. THOMAS H. CLAY TO HIS WIFE.

City of Washington, June 29, 1852.

My dear Mary,—Shortly after I wrote to you this morning, I was summoned by James to my father's bedside. "Sit near me, my dear son," he said; "I do not wish you to leave me for any time to-day." In about an hour after, he said, "Give me some water." I gave him about half a glassful, which he drank, and still retained the tube in his mouth. In a few moments he released the tube, and said, "I believe, my son, I am going." Five minutes after, he told me "to button his shirt collar," which I did. He then caught my hand, and retained it in his pressure for some time. When he relinquished it, I discovered he was dying. I summoned Governor Jones, of Tennessee, who occupied the room above him, and in five or ten minutes after he had ceased to breathe.

May my mother, and all of you, be prepared for it. A nation mourns, but it is his gain. He is free from pain, and I thank God. Oh! how sickening is the splendid pageantry I have to go through from this to Lexington.

My love to all.

My father died at seventeen minutes past eleven. I telegraphed Mr. Harrison at twelve M.

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